

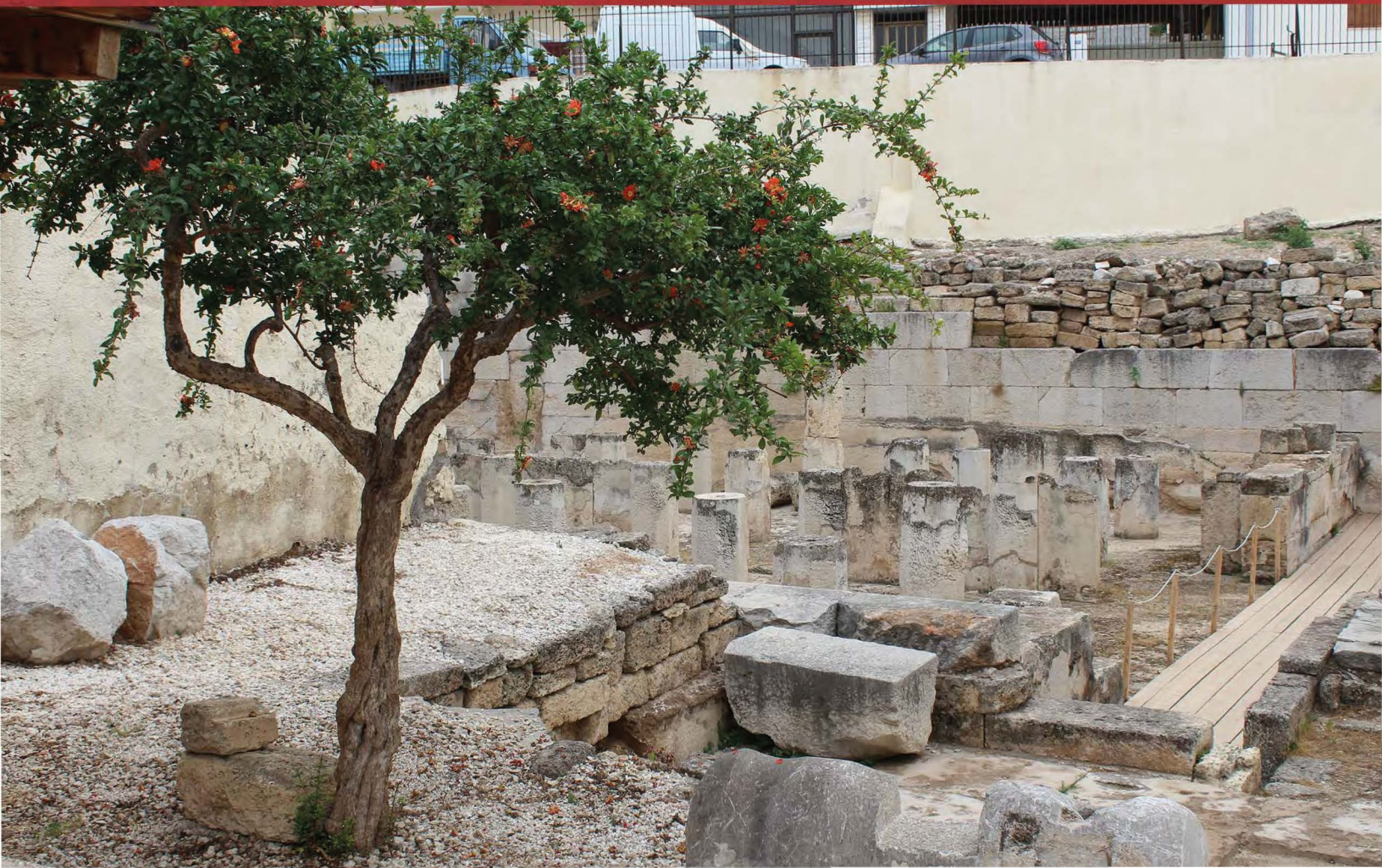
T S O

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Hans Beck and Philip J. Smith, editors

Megarian Moments

The Local World of an Ancient Greek City-State



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Series Preface

This volume is the first publication in the new series ‘Teiresias Supplements Online’ (TSO), an open access venue for the publication of high-end research in Classical Studies. Supplementing the journal ‘Teiresias. Online Review and Bibliography of Boiotian Studies’, the mission of the series is to foster research on Central Greece and its core region Boiotia. At the same time, the supplements have a wider geographical range, branching out into the history and culture of the Greek mainland and the Peloponnese, from the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity.

TSO publishes peer-reviewed monographs or edited volumes, with extensive coverage of scholarship in Ancient History, Classical Philology, Archaeology, and Epigraphy. The series also invites submissions in related special disciplines such as, for instance, Historical Topography, Numismatics, Onomastics, Prosopography, or Environmental History.

The journal Teiresias continues to be distributed free of charge ever since its inception and, since 1991, has also been made available electronically. TSO is faithful to this spirit of knowledge advancement. Much like its mother journal, albeit under all-new realities in academic publishing today, the series makes a pioneering move in the publication of specialized Humanities research. Available in the ‘Directory of Open Access Books’ (DOAB) and maintaining the highest standard of peer-review, the supplement series reduces price barriers and delays in the production process, while allowing authors to maintain copyright over their intellectual output. This includes the upload of contributions to institutional repositories and academic platforms such as academia.edu, if authors wish to do so. TSO is also indexed and searchable on platforms like Google scholar. Further copyright information can be accessed via the TSO website, teiresias-supplements.mcgill.ca

TSO is a publication out of McGill University. The series owes much to Albert Schachter, founding father of Teiresias and many other Boiotian research initiatives. We are delighted and grateful to know that he is as excited about the launch of this series as we are.

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Megarian Moments

The Local World of an Ancient Greek City-State

Edited by Hans Beck and Philip J. Smith

Teiresias Supplements Online, Volume 1

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Preface

Megarian Moments derives from an international workshop organized by the editors at McGill University in Montreal, May 5 to 6, 2016. The symposium was held under the aegis of the *Parochial Polis* Network which is dedicated to the study of localism in ancient Greece. The *Parochial Polis* explores what the local is and how it provides a frame of reference for human agency that is rich in orientation and meaning.

From its inception in 2015, The *Parochial Polis* Network launched a plethora of workshops on localism and globalization in the ancient world. Several scholars from *Megarian Moments* played a key role in those conversations; some have pursued approximations to the local both within the *Parochial Polis* and beyond. The lively exchange subsequent to the workshop inspired an immensely fruitful research environment. In addition to the papers that were delivered in Montreal, the editors commissioned three articles from authors who had grown into the network to round off the picture. All of these steps, in addition to the improvements of manuscripts from the TSO peer review process, helped to forge this book. Incidentally, we are grateful and feel privileged to kick off this exciting new series with our volume.

The workshop was made possible by the Anneliese Maier Research Prize that the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation awarded to Hans Beck. *Megarian Moments* thus benefitted again from the energetic, ongoing collaboration with Peter Funke of Münster University. Additional funds were received from the MacNaughton Chair of Classics at McGill. As ever, the team of young researchers and research assistants associated with the *Parochial Polis* helped with the planning and seamless carrying out of the event: Lexie Bilhete, Cyrena Gerardi, Émilie Lucas, Meghan Poplacean, Alex Martalogu, and Daniel Whittle. Émilie Lucas also shook her magic designer wand with the cover. Chandra Giroux served as editorial assistant to the volume. Christian Fron from Heidelberg drew the maps. Finally, Panagiota Avgerinou from the 3rd Ephorate of Classical Antiquities and Curator of the Museum in Megara generously advised us on the urban topography of the ancient city. To all we offer our heartfelt thanks.

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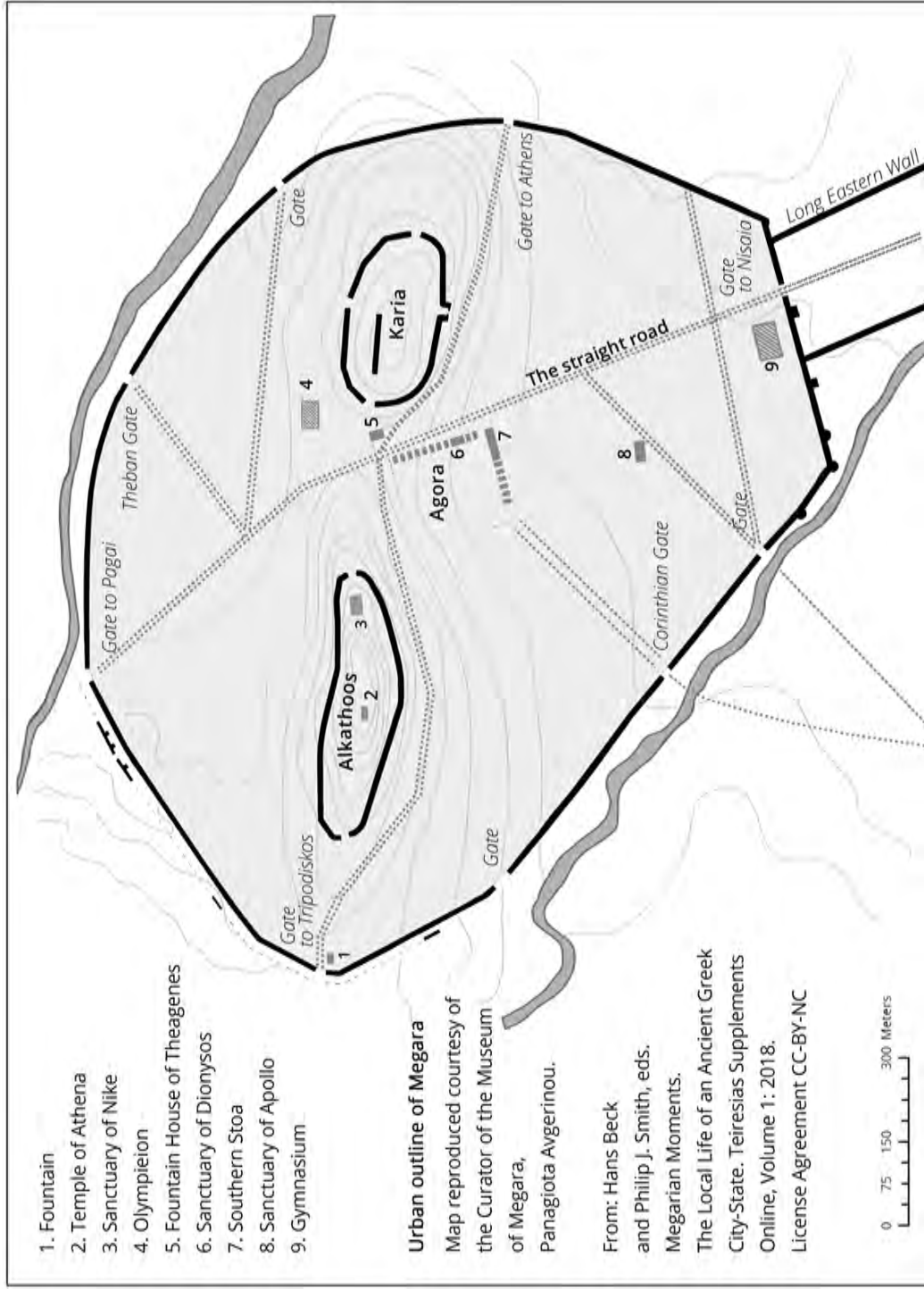
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Abbreviations

<i>BNJ</i>	<i>Brill's New Jacoby</i>
<i>BNP</i>	<i>Brill's New Pauly</i>
<i>CCSL</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum, series Latina</i>
<i>CPF</i>	<i>Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci et Latini</i>
<i>CID</i>	<i>Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes</i>
<i>DK</i>	<i>Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , 6th ed. H. Diels and W. Kranz (Berlin, 1952)
<i>DNO</i>	<i>Der Neue Overbeck</i> , ed. S. Kansteiner, K. Hallof, L. Lehmann, B. Seidensticker, and K. Stemmer
<i>FCG</i>	<i>Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum</i>
<i>FD</i>	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i>
<i>FGrH</i>	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i>
<i>FHG</i>	<i>Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum</i>
<i>GGM</i>	<i>Geographi Graeci minores</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>I. Kalchedon</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Kalchedon</i>
<i>IThesp</i>	<i>Les inscriptions de Thespies</i>
<i>IOSPE</i>	<i>Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae</i>
<i>ISM</i>	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de Scythie Mineure</i>
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
<i>LSJ</i>	<i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> , by H. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. Jones (Oxford, 1940)
<i>M&L</i>	<i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC</i> , ed. R. Meiggs and D. Lewis (Oxford, 1988)
<i>Milet</i>	<i>Inschriften von Milet</i>
<i>OEAGR</i>	<i>Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome</i>
<i>PCG</i>	<i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i>
<i>PECS</i>	<i>Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites</i>
<i>PMG</i>	<i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i>

<i>R&O</i>	<i>Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC</i> , ed. P.J. Rhodes and R. Osborne (Oxford, 2003)
<i>RPC</i>	<i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> , ed. M. Amandry, A. Burnett, and P.P. Ripolles (London, 2005)
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>SSR</i>	<i>Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni</i>
<i>SVF</i>	<i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i>





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Chapter 1

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“If I am from Megara.” Introduction to the Local Discourse Environment of an Ancient Greek City-State

Neaira ran. Gathering what she could carry – presumably a few personal items, clothes, jewelry – she fled from the exploitation she experienced in Athens. Thebes would have been the obvious destination, but the city was too far to keep in touch with regular clients from Athens who desired to do so. Corinth, about the same distance, was out of the picture because she had been freed from there earlier; returning to Corinth would have implied a return to slavery. The most appealing choice, then, was Megara. But things didn’t work out as she would have hoped, for Neaira hadn’t reckoned with the Megarians. In his famous prosecution speech from the 340s BCE, Apollodoros explains that,

she spent two years in Megara, Her work as a prostitute was not bringing in enough money for her to run her household, since she was a big spender, and the Megarians are stingy and pusillanimous; also, there wasn’t much foreign traffic because the Megarians had sided with Sparta, and you [the Athenians] had control of the sea. (*Against Neaira* 36)

According to Apollodoros, Neaira’s business in Megara suffered from travel obstacles created by war, along with the Megarians’ general lack of appreciation for high-end prostitutes. Their “stingy and pusillanimous nature” (ἀνελεύθεροι καὶ μικρολόγοι), highlighted in the present tense as an ongoing character trait, prevented the Megarians

from lavish spending on escort girls. We note an involuntary irony at play, but this is not the point here. Apollodoros did what was typical of an Athenian, judging from so many speakers before him, in court, on the theatre stage, or from the orator platform on the Pnyx: he disparaged the inhabitants of another city, recollecting their backward nature, narrow-minded attitudes, and unrefined ways. In turn, dismissing the local idiosyncrasies of others fueled the idea that the *nomima* of the Athenians, their customs and traditions, were superior to those of the rest of the Greeks.¹

The Scope of this Volume

The mechanics of positionality are immediately obvious. A certain image of Megara circulated in Athens and, while not necessarily coherent or conclusive, let alone authoritative in any grounded sense, this image was part of the Athenian imaginary (Nicole Loraux). It served as a canvas for the projection of deeply entrenched ideas of self and other. The local discourse in Megara was, by default, subject to different projections. The Megarians had their own views, and their own image of Athens. Their assessment of the world was not coherent either: as we will see shortly, the fragmentation of the local horizon into multiple groups of agents and functional localities – neighbourhoods, villages, the countryside, harbours, etc – makes the quest for the local a kaleidoscopic endeavor rather than one that aims for coherence. The general configuration, however, is clear. The present volume seeks to see through the Megarian lens. Rather than writing a continuous history of a Greek city-state,² the purpose is to recreate the Local Discourse Environment (LDE, below) of Megara and trace its governing tenets and themes as they shine through at various moments in the history of the city. In the quest for a distinctly Megarian perspective, the various contributions also explore, in a paradigmatic manner, how the local context brought order and meaning to those who shared in it. To borrow

1 For the context of Neaira's situation, cf. Hamel 2005; Glazebrook 2005 and 2006.

2 Previous local histories of Megara: Hanell 1934, Legon 1981, Smith 2008 (Hellenistic Archaeology and Epigraphy), Robu 2014 (Archaic period).

the famous phrase from the *Anthologia Palatina*, albeit with some creative variation, the subsequent chapters all respond to the question “If I am from Megara, so what?”³

Theorizing Local and Local Discourse Environment in Ancient Greece

Pronouncing the dichotomous opposition to others – Greek cities near and far, non-Greeks – was a key method for polis communities to position themselves in an interstate environment that was both dense and subject to swiftly changing constellations. The notion of positionality resonates some of the associated expressions of cultural and/or ethnic ‘othering’; the details have received broad attention in scholarship, especially regarding the Persian War and its capacity to serve as a catalyst for the articulation of a charged ethnic identity among many Greek cities.⁴ At the same time, the language of cultural mapping follows its own grammar, one that goes beyond the syntax of slander. As Simon Goldhill (2010) posited recently, there is a marked difference between verdicts such as ‘this is how they do things there’ and ‘this is how we do things here’. Both expressions draw on different strategies of complicity and inclusion. The former, ‘this is how they do things there,’ is of limited authority to those whose local world is observed. Looking at others from the outside and detecting among them customs and traditions that are curious enough to be referenced, ‘this is how they do things there’ resembles strategies of stereotyping and ‘othering’. It is easy to foresee how this technique might traverse to the critiquing or mocking of local idiosyncrasies. In its most flagrant form, it segues into strategies of asserting identity through alterity, along with the coarse expression of ethnic discrimination and disparagement.⁵

By contrast, ‘this is how we do things here’ hits a different tone as it bales from a different source of authority and knowledge. Anthropologists call this the emic perspective, the insider’s take who is not only knowledgeable about local attitudes and allures but is also in

3 The original text, which is referenced in full further down, reads “If I am from Syria, so what?” For a discussion, see below.

4 In lieu of this new orthodoxy, Gruen 2011 (esp. 9–39) has argued for a more nuanced picture.

5 Goldhill 2010: 46–51.

complicity with the group that nourishes them.⁶ Such epichoric self-awareness of Greek city-states extended to a very wide spectrum of societal practices, in politics, religion, culture, and beyond. No matter how these practices were branded or mocked by others, they mattered to the locals. ‘This is how we do things here’ is thus filled with purpose and meaning.

As part of the everyday experience, the internal point of view is reflective of, and in turn gives voice to, a local regime of truth (Michel Foucault). The attitude that a communal practice is correct and proper – that something is ‘done in this way and not another’ or ‘not done at all’ – is the result of preconceptions that are deeply entrenched in the workings of society. In Foucault’s terms, those preconceptions constitute a meta-power. As the state is unable to occupy the whole field of power relations, society is governed by a series of sub-power systems such as the family, education, and the media. Each of these establishes their prohibitions and constraints. Taken together, meta-powers foster a regime of sentiment and belief, or truth; they produce a reality in which certain things are done in accordance with prevailing meta-powers, while others are ‘not to be done at all’. The validity of those regimes of truth is confined to the society that produces them. In other words, in each community each regime creates a different reality. What is valid in any one society is not automatically valid in another, even if they share certain cultural traditions otherwise.⁷

The festival cycle of the Greek polis offers a striking example of how local Hellenic regimes of truth played out. Polis festivals were key in the dissemination and veneration of local traditions (legends of foundation and descent, myths of attachment to place, etc), as were the city’s many commemorative rites and religious rituals that followed a local script. For instance, many cities celebrated the Thesmophoria, but only in Eretria were the sacrificial meats grilled in the sun rather than on the fire. The festival of Agrionia was celebrated in Orchomenos differently from the festival of the same name in nearby Chaironeia, less than 10 kilometers away. In Boiotia alone, a total of 19 different cult variants of festivals in honor of Apollo have been identified, with an even higher number

⁶ Cf. Hansen 2004: 3, on emic approaches to the ancient Greek city-state.

⁷ Regime of truth: the foundational text on “Truth and Power” is reprinted in Rabinov 1984: 51–75.

of local epithets.⁸ The celebration of all of these festivals was governed not only by cultic idiosyncrasy at the local level, but also by a calendar that was once again locally encoded. No two poleis had the same (festival) calendar.⁹ So while the conduct of religion in the Greek city was inspired by Hellenic communality or ‘Hellenicity’ – Herodotus (8.144.2) famously spoke of a common conduct of sacrifices to the gods –, there was also substantial local variation in ritual practice and meaning.¹⁰

In their exercise of cult and sacrifice, Greek polis societies of the Classical period proceeded in an auto-referential and sociocentric manner. Auto-referential because their ways and traditions clustered around the local cosmos first and foremost, the people, and the land; we will return to this shortly. And sociocentric because their interpretations relied mostly on readings that were conceived of, and sanctioned by, the local community itself.

The term local requires conceptual clarification.¹¹ Local is typically understood in descriptive terms, referring to local traditions and tastes, the study of local dialects, local knowledge cultures, or the writing of local history. Also, as Tim Whitmarsh (2010) remarked, the term local is often used in a dismissive sense, for instance when applied to a plethora of ethnic groups in the Mediterranean that were neither Greek nor Roman.¹² Semantic pettiness has also been detected in the genre of local historiography. The common view that local history offers “images of tiny, parochial studies which might be of interest perhaps only to the equivalent of a minor local history society”¹³ suggests that much. In the same vein, local Greek religion is usually portrayed as being confined by a small place and a limited number of participants, and hence as petty. Local religion was thus not only subject to a small-world horizon, but also, according to the orthodox view, of low significance.¹⁴

8 Cf. Schachter 1981: 43–90. On Orchomenos and Chaironeia, Schachter 1981: 173–174 and 179–181. Thesmophoria at Eretria: Plut. *Mor.* 298b–c = *Greek Questions* #31.

9 Cf. Trümper 1997; Hannah 2013.

10 See below.

11 The following sketch will be fleshed out in greater detail in Beck, forthcoming.

12 Whitmarsh 2010: 3. Cf. also Hingley 2005: 93 on such a reading of the local and postcolonial theory.

13 Cf. Thomas 2014: 145, referencing the common view.

14 Cf. the discussion by Kindt 2012: 123–154, who fosters a different approach.

Throughout these examples, the inherent – and inherently pejorative – idea is that the local is subject to a taxonomy of relevance in which it is belittled by greater formations – the universal, global, or Panhellenic – that are viewed as landmarks of Greek culture, its connectivity and worldliness. It is intriguing to see how much scholarly attention this aspect, the paradigm of connectivity and exchange, receives in current conversations in the Humanities and Social Sciences. Everything is “Linked” (Barabási 2002). In Ancient History, the new wave of Mediterranean studies is only the most eminent and also most impactful expression of a true paradigm-shift toward omnipresent connectivity.¹⁵

For instance, in his recent study (2011) of the Mediterranean world, Irad Malkin examines the multiple networks of colonization, commerce, and religion that allowed communities near and far to interact with increasing frequency. In this *Small Greek World*, the boundaries of exchange were gradually replaced by patterns of connectivity. The necessary prerequisites in infrastructure and technology that enabled such connectivity are relatively easy to pin down: improved navigation at sea and developing road networks on land; increasing volume of trade in response to the rising demands of urban societies; advanced security of travel, and so forth. Malkin moves, however, beyond the issue of improved infrastructure. Drawing on network theories that are inspired by social media communication on the internet, he examines how networks as such constitute a particular type of social morphology. Networks are prone to trigger a shift in the mindsets of those who engage in them. They disregard the juxtaposition of near and far. In concrete terms, despite the vast distances between them, the Greeks of the Mediterranean basin occupied a world that was global and local at the same time. The paradox is resolved with reference to the omnipresence of tightly meshed networks that provided both the infrastructure and the mental interface of interaction.¹⁶

Network theory has become a powerful paradigm that contributes to the understanding of intercommunal exchange in ancient Greece, relating to the larger questions of a joint political culture, the rise of a more or less coherent religious belief system, and the establishment of a common sense of Hellenicity. All of these trends cut across the dividing

¹⁵ Some of the basic texts include Morris 2005; Malkin et alii 2009; Dabag et alii 2016.

¹⁶ Malkin 2011: 3–64.

lines of small and geographically scattered city-states, highlighting their collective quality as constituents of one cultural hemisphere. The true agents of that hemisphere, however, remained local organizations: according to Eberhard Ruschenbusch, the *Normalpolis* was a small-scale city (25 to 100 km²), sometimes with not more than a few hundred citizens, with access to modest natural resources and a limited potential for growth.¹⁷ As much as those cities were stitched into the ‘Hellenic Wide Web’ (Malkin) of the Aegean world, as much they were drawn to a deliberately local horizon.

Greek authors of all times gave voice to this local world. Phokylides of Miletus, in the later sixth century BCE, declared that “a small and orderly polis on a rock is better than foolish Nineveh” (fr. 4 Gentili/Prato). In a way this followed up on Hesiod’s famous statement that traveling to Chalkis, across the straits that separated Euboia from Boiotia, was the maximum trip he was willing to consider (*W&D* 517-667). Journeys to far-away lands held no appeal for Hesiod.¹⁸ Theognis, in a similar vein, declared his hometown Megara the ultimate place where he would pursue his goals in life, for good or for ill. He had journeyed “to Sicily, the vine-rich plains of Euboia and to Sparta, splendid city of the reed-nourishing Eurotas,” but nothing was dearer to him than his *patria*, his homeland (783-788).¹⁹

It appears that these authors were immune to the glamour and excitement of distant worlds that are the nuts and bolts of Homer’s poetry. The attitude voiced by Phokylides is usually understood as an early reference to the normative force of the polis as a political aggregation with a growing sense of self-governance or, *avant la lettre*, *autonomia*. Note how Phokylides’ polis was orderly – the arrangement was κατὰ κόσμον –, which underscores the political connotation of his verdict. Yet the city as such was built on a rock or steep hilltop, which might signal that it had good natural defenses. The image is one that occurs frequently in the *Iliad*, where Greek cities are described as steep or scanty (Kalydon: *Il.* 2.640; 14.118). The impression here is that those cities had a certain degree of

17 Ruschenbusch 1985, with Hansen 2004: 71. See also Bintliff 2006, who calculates that 80% of Greek city-states had populations of 2,000 to 4,000 people, with a territory of a 5 to 6 kilometer radius.

18 Reference to long-distance trade is confined to one passage in *Works and Days* (618-694), cf. Edwards 2004: 48-51; Strauss Clay 2009. On the poetic theme of Hesiod’s reluctance to travel, cf. Rosen 1990.

19 See the contributions by David Yates and Jonathan Reeves below.

honesty in their favour: they occupied a spot that was not necessarily pleasant, nor did it have abundant resources. Nevertheless, they were seemingly well thought-out and well maintained by their inhabitants because the place meant something to them. It is interesting to see how Nineveh (Mosul, Iraq), the most captivating metropolis of the Assyrian Empire of the day, is portrayed as foolish or, literally, meaningless (ἄφραϊνούσης). In this sense, the fame of Nineveh was outweighed by the well-governed but potentially un-worldly polis. For Phokylides, in the contest between mega-city vs. parochial polis, the latter prevailed.²⁰

Phokylides' praise of the small city resonates an identity of place, one that is truffled with specificities of culture, encoded in foundational ideas of human interaction, and supported by the authority of tradition, all of which were appropriated in the Hellenic discourse of hanging on to the local – even if it was in a somewhat poor location. At the same time, Phokylides touches on a transhistorical quality of the local, that is, its capacity as a source domain that wields impact over individuals in their daily exchanges.

The embedded quality of the local to imprint on society is largely under-researched. As a working hypothesis, we might assert that this quality plays out in two arenas of spatial semantics: the physical and the imagined realm. As a physical space, the local is the manageable, accessible realm through which individuals navigate in their everyday lives. Such an embodied experience implies multiple groups of human agents. It expresses itself in a variety of functional localities in which their relations are realized, like neighbourhoods and demes, and/or places of artisanal or agricultural productivity; hence the urban center and the countryside. Religious and profane places, once again associated with locations in the polis territory, were also subject to divergent strategies of communal maintenance. The local of the farmer in the countryside is not the same as that of the perfumer in the agora. What unites them is that they fall within the same radius of everyday engagement: typically not more than five to six kilometers, or less than a two

20 E. Bowie, "Phocylides," *Brill's New Pauly*. Online Database (print 2006); Itgenshorst 2014: 88, 208–210, and *passim*, who dismisses the idea of assigning the fragment to a Jewish-Egyptian author from the Imperial Period (Korenjak and Rollinger 2001). Hall 2007: 74 conjectures that Phokylides had a "compact settlement" in mind, similar to what is portrayed on Achilles' shield (*Il.* 18.484–607). Political renderings of Phokylides, Walter 2013: 518. See also frs. 3, 5, and 12 Gentili/Prato.

hour walk. With over the majority of inhabitants being peasant farmers, this distance was covered during the daily commute to their fields in the countryside, which usually consisted of a short ride or walk from their homes in the city. If farmers lived in villages or hamlets, they would find the distance between their homes and the market place in the city equally manageable. The physical local is thus subject to the circumstances of human mobility. In the context of Greek culture, it overlaps with the horizon of the *Normalpolis*, as we characterized it above.²¹

The next realm beyond the local is region, which transcends quotidian interactions. In the regional sphere, human agency is exposed to a series of subsidiary modes of communication and infrastructures that enable interactions beyond the daily radius. Effectively, in their experience of the local and the regional, individuals turn to strategies of exchange that are categorically different. One strategy is governed by directness, auto-referentiality, and complicity; the other by intermediary contact, cyclical exchange, and a hybrid of inside/outside perspectives. In the culture-specific setting of ancient Greece, the regional is commonly associated with the *ethnos*. For instance, the Phokians, Boiotians, or Arkadians, have a joint ethnic identity that is also tied to geography: the territory of the *ethnē*, as reflected in expressions of tribal communality, regional sanctuaries and amphiktyonies, or in the organization of a federal state. Given the precarity of inside/outside relations in the regional sphere, this also explains why the interactions between neighbours, separated by only a few kilometers, were often exposed to a particular volatility. The further the regional extends from the local, the less it is charged with the burden of this volatility.²²

21 A radius of 5 kilometers equals c. 78 km². The figures for the *Normalpolis* of a 1 to 1.5 hour radius have been endorsed by survey archaeology, see especially Bintliff 2006, with much bibliography. Gehrke 1986: 19 calculates that up to 80% of the inhabitants of the *Normalpolis* were peasant-farmers.

22 The mechanics of the *ethnos* in its regional context are fairly well understood, cf. Mackil 2013; Beck and Funke 2015 for the most recent overview. Precarity of relations, Beck 2016.

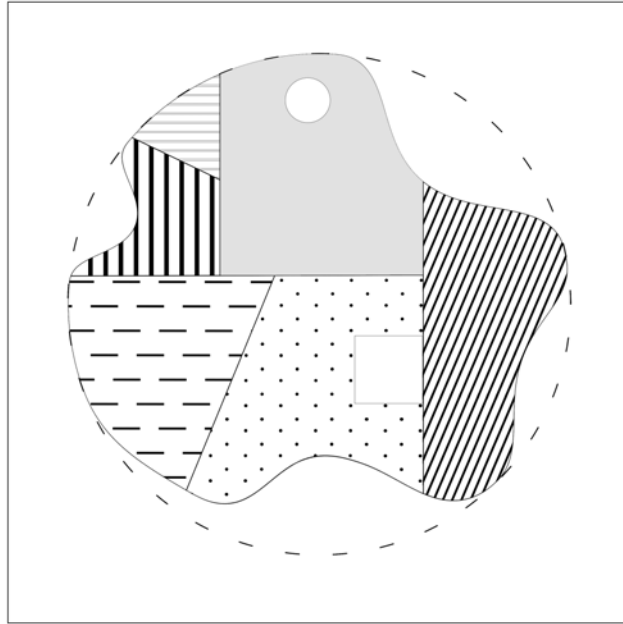


Figure 1: The local horizon, real and imagined. The irregular shape symbolizes the vagaries of the land, while the dashed circle represents the imagined local. Shaded areas indicate diverse functional localities, e.g. neighbourhoods, agricultural land, harbours, market places, sanctuaries, etc.

As a metaphorical or imagined place, the local extends this experience to an imagined circle of individuals, building an imagined community (Benedict Anderson). Henri Lefebvre has argued that the metaphorical manifestation of space is both separate from the physical world and related to it. As we have seen, physical space segregates, it shapes multiple localities that exist in proximity to each other; we have noted the existence of multiple functional localities in one and the same locale. Social space, on the other hand, “implies actual and potential assembly at a single point, or around that point. It implies, there, the possibility of accumulation”.²³ This implied possibility of collective accumulation

²³ Lefebvre 1974/1991: 101.

is contextual. It is inspired by various real-life constellations, including physical infrastructure and modes of communication. The natural environment too fuels the idea of possible accumulation, in the sense that it provides a real canvas (e.g., a valley, plateau, island, etc) for the projection of social space. This does not imply that the natural environment – its topography and geography – wields a deterministic force over society. If anything, the causal relation went in the opposite direction. As David Harvey has demonstrated, the social quality of space is not determined by geography, but is defined through human practice, i.e., through an ongoing, complex, and often non-linear negotiation in the course of which space is made subject to, and appropriated by, the governing ideas of society.²⁴ In their conversations about cultural practices and social meaning, the members of society constitute a series of links to their locality. The local is invoked as a figure that binds them together in their imagined community with its everyday norms and practices, and its regime of truth.

In this avenue of exploration, the local is a rich source that brings order and meaning to the reassessment of changing circumstances in the world. It provides society with a place for convictions, beliefs, and patterns of reasoning. The local is more than a firm footing from which to struggle forward. It is the glue that binds people together in the comfortable familiarity of established norms and practices. In sum, the twofold meaning of the local speaks to a particular ontology of place, one that amalgamates physical and imagined realms, marries relational and contextual approaches, and combines nature and society. It turns space into place.²⁵

The terms locality and localism relate to this approach. Locality, beyond its casual meaning of having a location, denotes the long-standing patterns that emerge from the association with the local. Locality subsumes all expressions of local culture, knowledge production, and communal conviction, each one in relation to the local horizon that inspires

²⁴ Harvey 1979/2006: 275.

²⁵ See also Soja 1989: 118–137, whose “spatialized ontology” became a landmark contribution on the way toward the spatial turn.

them. Localism, finally, is the mindset that prioritizes the sum of these local expressions and experiences over alternative sources of meaning from outside the community.²⁶

It has been pointed out by scholars that the opposition of the local and the global presents a difficult binary because each category infiltrates the other. Also, studies in cultural globalization indicate that the relation between the local and the global is never static but is exposed to adaptation and change. This is how, and why, the terms ‘glocal’ and ‘glocalization’ (Roland Robertson) have entered the debate. According to a prominent cycle of cross-fertilization between the local and the global, globalization triggers an increasing sense of disconnect from the local, or a delocalization. This fuels a new need for locality. In its most immediate variant, this need leads to the rise of a new localism, that in turn challenges the basic tenets of globalization. Neither end of the binary is pristine, in spite of what societal conversations about the local and the global often suggest.²⁷

The constellation is amply attested in the Greek world, most eminently in the Hellenistic Age and its vibrant coexistence of divergent trajectories of “Belonging and Isolation” (Ager and Faber 2013). As we have seen earlier, the Hellenistic poet Meleager addressed the crucial question of local belonging in times of global change, in a series of self-epitaphs that are preserved in the *Anthologia Palatina*. In one notable text, it is observed

The isle of Tyre raised me; my true hometown, however, was Gadara, Syria's Athens. From Eukrates I sprouted, I Meleager, who first by the help of the Muses raced against Menippos' Graces. If I am from Syria, so what? We all, stranger, inhabit one country: the world. It was one chaos that gave birth to all mortals. (7.417)

As was pointed out by Tamara Chin (2016), in Meleager's times, the question of local belonging was intertwined with a growing sense of cosmopolitanism. The delicate balance between the local and the global was tipped by a new quality of the global. As a

²⁶ See also Beck 2017 for a transhistorical concept of localism, its many derivatives, and their semantic charge.

²⁷ The point has been stressed by historians of globalization, cf., for instance, Osterhammel and Petersson 2005: 1–12. In the Roman world: Pitts and Versleuys 2015.

consequence, this new global quality triggered a crisis of identity at the local level. Note how the one local (Gadara) was described by means of comparison with another (Athens). By the first century BCE, the latter had obtained the status of a foothold of global culture.²⁸ While the traces of a cosmopolitanism mindset thus run back to the early Hellenistic period, the notion of identity crisis was not confined to the Hellenistic Age. It was a common trait of Greek culture, which has always been subject to the dynamic of expanding horizons, from the so-called Age of Colonization through the Classical period, and beyond. With it, the attitudes towards the local were persistently probed, tested, challenged, and, effectively, renegotiated. The ontology of place was a constant, governing power that realigned individuals with place and time. As we noted above, however, the ways in which this realignment played out was neither set nor stable, but malleable over time. In other words, as the locality of a place remained principally the same, inspiring long-standing patterns for the cultivation of an identity of people and of place, the long duration of the local was exposed to shifting parameters in the world around it.

The local, then, is a place that allows individuals to connect to common sources of knowledge and meaning.²⁹ In the course of the cultural turn, the multifaceted nature of these has been disclosed through the exploration of symbolic practices, civic rituals, and communicative realms within the community. The gravity of these practices results from the fact that they are repeated; repetition adds power and potency to the equation. Along the way, social practices evolve into social norms; and as such, it informs the constitution of reality in society. It has therefore become key to seek out narratives that speak to the cohesion of the community. The adoption of this avenue of inquiry demonstrates how legendary tales of primordial descent, and of a common ancestry, fed into the beliefs of polis societies and reinforced their sense of collectivity. Much of this kind of work was carried out under the rubric of ethnic identity studies, which in turn draw on a plethora of local and regional expressions of material and immaterial culture (e.g., pottery, dress, dialects), from what Lillian Jeffery has famously labeled *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*

28 Cf. also Hörschele 2013, who discusses the temporal, spatial, and cultural gulf that both separates the author from, and unites him with, the Hellenistic world.

29 The classic text is Geertz 1983.

(1961) to a wave of studies on foundation myths and tales of belonging to place, that were so critical to the Greek mindset.³⁰

Two further observations bear on the attachment to the land. The first is that the land was a spirited place, one that was inhabited by what Aischylos and Thucydides called the ἐπιχώριοι θεοί – the epichoric gods, demigods, demons and nymphs, all of which resided in the territory of the polis.³¹ The inhabitants of Greek cities were tied to the land through divine beings whose presence was detected in specific topographical features of the *chōra* like rivers, groves, and caves. This cultic topography called for particular veneration. Indeed, there are countless examples that speak to this localization, or spacialization, of Greek religion: rites of procession through the countryside that paid homage to each minute topographical feature of the *chōra* and its divine spirits; the veneration of places of memory that encapsulated the origins of the community; or the hymnic evocation of prayer and song that was not only performed in relation to place, but actually localized the god/goddess. As recent scholarship highlights, the exercise of rites and sacrifices in the polis was a local performance first and foremost. When Apollo, for instance, was evoked in prayer, the time-space continuum shrunk and melted into the local horizon; the god was localized. The very nature of Greek religion generated a sense of attachment to place that was deeply enshrined in the self-perception of polis communities.³² Julia Kindt has noted that the idea of opposing localizations and taxonomies of Greek religion – universal vs. local, important vs. petty – suffers from significant conceptual shortcomings; indeed, she posits that the duality is “a false dichotomy” (2012: 130-131). Rather, Kindt concludes by showing how the local thoroughly infiltrated the more Panhellenic or universal paradigms of Greek religion. Much like the glocal helix outlined above, both spheres were implicit in each other.³³

30 Much of this work was carried out under the rubric of ethnic identity studies. There is no need to revisit the terrain here. In a work that is in many ways paradigmatic, Kühr 2000 has demonstrated how the various threads of the Theban foundation saga were grounded in multiple layers of place – in Boiotia, Thebes, and individual locations within the city. This grounding, in turn, provided the Thebans with a robust sense of belonging.

31 Thuc. 2.71-74; Aesch. *Suppl.* 482. 704-705; cf. Polinskaya 2013: 36-43.

32 Cf. now Thomas 2016; also Calame 2011 and 2013.

33 Kindt 2012; cf. also Kindt 2015.

The second point with regards to the land has to do with the natural environment itself. As Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell illustrated in their study on *The Corrupting Sea* (2000), Aegean Greece comprised a diverse tapestry of micro-regions, often with very different ecological zones in very close proximity to each other. Different eco-zones invited different patterns of agrarian practice, which is why scholars have started to study regional variation in Greece with regards to the divergence of agricultural and pastoral regimes. In turn, such an approach allows for conclusions on the rural economies of individual cities and, by extension, on certain aspects of their social history. Building off of Horden and Purcell's observations, it is easy to see how the agrarian communities of ancient Greece were prone to a particular form of parochialism, one that was inspired by the natural environment itself.

Take the issue of food. The incorporation of locally available food into everyday diets is not an automatic process, as Igor de Garine (1976 and 1979) has long observed. When nature meets with the need for nutrition, the emergence of local cuisines is subject to expressions of cultural awareness. Food consumption is thus an important medium of self and social projection, as it allows people to articulate and reassert patterns of belonging. The precondition to such projection is that a group has agreed on common practices of preparation and consumption, as both the diet and its associated expressions are subject to a social judgment of taste (Bourdieu 1984). Public feasts in the polis, where everyone received a share in the sacrificial food, and all, in theory, ate together, highlighted such need for social acceptance by all. They also reinforced the idea that the solidarity of the group was expressed in choices of taste that united people in their small local world.³⁴

What was tasty in one polis was not necessarily tasty in another. Indeed, the Greek world was neither short nor shy of local practices that corresponded with the local land in one way or another. The people of Thasos notoriously prided themselves on their wine, which grew under particularly favourable combination of soil, sun, and wind. The city of Orchomenos was renowned for fat geese and the giant eels its inhabitants harvested in

34 The topic of food/consumption and identity has become a trending topic, both in scholarship and in more popular academic approaches; cf. only Erdkamp 2012; Crowther 2013; also the online journal *Anthropology of Food*.

Lake Kopais; and the Thessalian cities for their grain pudding (*chondron*) that was dripping with lamb broth and finessed with toasted nuts from local pine trees.³⁵

It would be easy to continue with this list or to extend the notion of local distinction to local craftsmanship. For instance, the territory of Sikyon has significant amounts of pale limestone-rich marl clay, with occasional pockets of iron-rich reddish terra rossa. The clays were found to have an ideal plasticity and suitability for forming and firing pottery. It has long been conjectured that the excellent clay quality supported Sikyon's pioneering role in the production of ceramics and in the visual arts.³⁶ Unsurprisingly, the soils of neighbouring Corinth are similar to those in the Sikyonia, especially in the low land coastal strip along the Gulf. Clay work and ceramics production had an equally impactful tradition at Corinth. In the so-called Potter's Quarter, archaeologists have discovered a high volume of maiden figurines with what is labeled today as typically "Sikyonian" folds in their skirts. The evident conclusion is that those pieces were manufactured by Sikyonian craftsmen in Corinth or, more likely, in an attempt to imitate the Sikyonian style. As was pointed out by Angela Ziskowski, the Sikyonian-style *korai* thus offer an exciting example of the Corinthians integrating a non-local or foreign "stylistic practice into [their] own repertoire of production" (2016: 104). *Mutatis mutandis*, we would assume that the same was true for Sikyonian styles in clay modeling, toreutics, and certainly in painting, with so many travelling artists coming through to work with the renowned experts of the local 'School'.³⁷

It is notoriously difficult to assert how exactly those specialized practices translated into the identity of place, but the general point is obvious. Seeing artisanal expertise as representative of communal values, norms, and habits, scholars have argued that cultural

35 Cf. Pray Bober 1999: 112–116, who collects several such food idiosyncrasies; Dalby 2003.

36 Sikyonian soils: Lolos 2011: 28–32; Trainor 2015: 19–39.

37 Cf. Griffin 1982: 99–100; Ziskowski 2016: 103–106. The Sikyonian toreutics school reached its peak in the fourth century BCE with Lysippos, who was generally regarded among the most distinguished bronze sculptors of the day. One of his mentors was Eupompos of Sikyon who was the founding father of another vibrant local school, that of painting. Eupompos' fame was later eclipsed by Apelles, a native of Kos and master painter of ancient Greece, who had studied for some time in Sikyon with Eupompos' successor, a certain Pamphilos. See also the contribution of Matthias Haake below on Megara's Philosophical School.

output reverberates a sense of belonging, a sense that was again magnified through repetition over time. Contextual readings of local dietary traditions and production thus not only offer a prism through which we see the daily life of local societies but, more importantly, they serve as a mirror of society, one in which we might observe the “social production and reproduction of meaning” (Hodos 2010: 3).

Fernand Braudel has famously argued that the history of micro-regions often remained untouched from the seismic shifts in global politics. Our advances in the understanding of the local invite a more nuanced picture. As we have seen, the local inspires a particular discourse environment. Shaped by a polyphony of voices and a plurality of realms where public conversations between shifting groups of speakers and audiences take place, the Local Discourse Environment (LDE) is of a kaleidoscopic nature. Voice and place are typically bracketed by the local horizon, which delineates a communicative boundary. At the same time, they are energized by, and receive critical input from, the local. Through this amalgamation with the local, the LDE provides public deliberations with a robust, common frame of reference. Drawing on long-term discursive sentiments, conditions, and beliefs as they prevail in a particular place, it renders self-evidence, validity, and in this sense truth, to societal assessments. Similar to an echo chamber, this autoreferential quality of the LDE endorses local readings of the world writ large and buttresses the local's place in global constellations. In the swiftly changing world of Ancient Greece, the LDE was a dynamic engine that powered strategies of distinction and competition, and, most eminently, a vibrant stage for the dialectic interplay between the local, the regional, and the global. At the same time, and in response to each one of these, the swiftly changing circumstances in the world of the Hellenes inspired a culture-specific ontology of place, one that was governed by the local horizon as much as it was by movements of connectivity and exchange.

Megara's Local Discourse Environment: Facets and Fragments

As we have seen earlier, their Athenian neighbours were quick to judge the Megarians. “Men of Megara, why don't you go to hell” shouts the speaker in Aristophanes' *Peace* (500), which hit the tone. For instance, Megarians were depicted as notorious garlic-eaters or “garlic-stung” (Aristoph. *Akarnians* 526), their diet being otherwise determined by poor

men's foods: turnips, overripe things and flat-cakes, along with an avid love of strong salt. According to Apollodoros of Karystos (third century BCE), Megarians savored rolls of cabbage, sometimes stuffed with pork (*PCG* II). Kallias (*FCG* V.1, fr. 23) adds "Megarian sphinxes" to the mix of mediocre local produce, most likely a slang word for prostitutes. Indeed, the low standards of Megarian prostitutes is another recurring theme in Athenian comedy (no wonder Neaira had such difficulties in Megara). Following the common conjecture in Greek literature that there was an innate relation between culinary habits and the ethical and intellectual capacity of people, it comes as no surprise that Megarians had only a childish humor. Ekphantides, who wrote in the generation before Aristophanes, suggested that the term "Megarian farce" was proverbial (fr. 3). Generally speaking, Megarians were a little slow. When it is necessary to sink your teeth into something and try hard to achieve a goal, they accomplish nothing, "gnawing like puppies" (Aristoph. *Peace* 482). Local styles in dress were also targeted. The Megarian tunic, the so-called *chlani*s, became the object of ridicule, inviting various condescending comments (Aristoph. *Akarnians* 519). When imports from Megara became illegal as a consequence of the sanctions imposed in 432 BCE, "Megarian" turned into a watchword in the agora for all kinds of illegal and low-quality products. The sanctions were lifted at some point, but the saying lingered on. Summing up her analysis of Megarian stereotypes in Athens, Monica Florence concluded that the public discourse in Athens built on, and in turn endorsed, the image of an antithetical relationship between Athens and Megara, one in which the Megarians were at the receiving end. Everything in this discourse was construed to "sanction Athens' right to rule over its wild and less civilized Greek neighbors" (2003: 55).

Megarian images of self were hardly confined to garlic, onions, and funny tunics. To be sure, cabbage rolls were a local delicacy to which the people of Megara were given no matter what others said. Climatic conditions in the Megarid were better for the cultivation of cabbage than in Attica, with lower levels of annual rainfall there. The local food delicacy thus seems to have adapted to the microclimate of the Megarid. The same applied to the production of salt in the saltpans on the coast facing Salamis that had a particular taste.³⁸ Beyond the cultivation of cabbage, a high proportion of the land was used for

38 Salt: Aristoph. *Acharnians* 817; *Schol.* in Aristoph. *Ach.* 700; Legon 1981: 88; Smith 2006: 77-78.

pasturage, which gave special importance to raising sheep and producing wool. According to Aristotle (*Pol.* 1305 a 25-26), in their violent competition for influence in the polis in the later seventh century BCE, some aristocratic leaders made it their strategy to slaughter the grazing flocks of their opponents, which underscores their value. Soon enough, local spinners developed their own style, the aforementioned *chlanis*, a durable, short woolen tunic. Later sources credited a certain Nikias of Megara with the invention of a particular fulling process that was applied (Plin. *nat.* 7.57). Megarian *chlaniskia* were a desired export product. Known for their wool quality, they were appreciated both as ready-to-wear clothes and also as good winter wear. According to Xenophon (*Mem.* 2.7.6), many Megarians made considerable profit from their production and trade in the Saronic Gulf, and beyond. At about the same time as Xenophon, Diogenes of Sinope scolded the Megarians for their ignorance and vulgarity; he, Diogenes, “would rather be a ram belonging to a Megarian than his son” (Ail. *Var.* 12.56).

We see the pendulum of positionality in full swing. Whatever the mockery – most likely animals will not have mattered more than sons – it is easy to see how Megarian sheep breeders were concerned over their stock rams, which were critical for successful flock management. As the end product of a particular artisanal epistemology (Pamela Smith), the wool *chlanis* was the sum of multiple manufacturing skills at all steps of the production chain: from the more generic animal husbandry and sheering to the specific skills of dying, spinning, and weaving that were applied to make the *chlanis* distinct. As mentioned above, it is difficult to assert just how exactly such an artisanal epistemology translated into social meaning, but this does not undermine the more general observation that the Megarian garb was both an expression and reassurance of a distinct identity of place.³⁹

Moving beyond the dining tables and dress rooms, being from Megara implied daily exposure to a complicated set of determinants that made the city unique. Geography put the city on the land routes from the Peloponnese to Athens and Central Greece, with all the vagaries and changing fortunes that came with a location near one of the great junctions of the Greek mainland. Nothing highlights the charge the local topography had

39 Cf. also Legon 1981: 21-40, 87-88.

more than the famous pillar erected by Athenians and Peloponnesians in the western borderlands of the Megarid. On the side facing the Peloponnese, it read, “This is the Peloponnese, not Ionia,” and on the side facing Megara, “This is not the Peloponnese, but Ionia” (Strab. 9.1.6). We will return to the corresponding ethnic charges shortly. The route was one of the most frequented travel arteries in Greece. In the words of Sheila Ager, “Megara was a local to the Megarians, yet a highway to others”. In addition to their connectivity on land, the Megarians were a seafaring polis that relied on overseas trade and was known for its expert navigators; yet on many occasions, the Megarians were shut out from their harbours.⁴⁰

The most eminent impact, however, came from the political trajectory. The loss of Salamis to Athens in the early sixth century BCE put Megara on an irreversible downward spiral. Like many other city-states, the community was shaken by ruptures of civil strife and domestic violence, although the political climate appears to have been even more volatile in Megara than elsewhere. The Persian War, paradoxically, caused a temporary delay in the city’s ongoing strife. Unlike other prominent poleis along the Hellenic corridor, for instance, Orchomenos, Thebes and Argos, the Megarians sided with the Greek coalition. The Serpent Column, which listed the dedicating parties according to the contributions they had made to the war, puts them in the seventh spot of the Hellenic alliance (*M&L* 27). As soon as the threat was over, the Megarians became the punching bag of both Athens and Sparta. One of the earliest members of the Peloponnesian League outside the Peloponnese, the Megarians defected from Sparta in c. 460 BCE. But the Thirty Years Peace (446 BCE) voided their defection and they were returned to Sparta, against their will. Only a decade or so later, the Athenians bullied the Megarians over the so-called Sacred Tract, the borderlands between Eleusis and the Megarid. The quarrel led to all sorts of grievances, and it never went away. In an Athenian decree from the mid-fourth century, several concerns over the border with Megara are raised; they were brought

40 Freitag 2000: 174–186. See the contributions by Klaus Freitag and Sheila Ager below.

before the Pythia in Delphi. The way the request is framed makes it clear that there was no concern whatsoever for the Megarian cause.⁴¹

How did the Megarians situate themselves between the frontlines? Pausanias records that Megara once had been part of Athens and thus of the Ionian tribe (note how the Isthmos inscription referenced above made them part of Ionia, too). But,

later, when Kodros was king, the Peloponnesians went to war with Athens. As they withdrew, having achieved nothing glorious, they took Megara, which was Athenian, and allowed anyone from Corinth, and the rest of the league, who wanted, to settle there. In this way the Megarians changed their customs (ἔθος) and their speech (φωνή) and became Dorians. (1.39.4)

There is an interesting archaeological layer in Pausanias' observation, one that resonates the prominence of Athenian claims as we encountered them earlier: Megara had once been theirs, which supported claims for superiority over time.⁴² At some point in the late-Archaic period, similar claims of ethnic belonging were raised by Megara's northern neighbour, Boiotia.⁴³ In the end, however, the Megarians did not maintain an Ionian or Boiotian identity, but involuntarily became Dorians. Sparta brought about the transition of their customs and speech by making arrangements to settle all kinds of peoples in Megara. Pausanias saw it as a means to secure Megara's future loyalty.

41 *REO* no. 58 = *IG* II³ 1.292. For the Sacred Tract, which is first mentioned in Thuc. 1.139, cf. Ober 1985: 216-217; McInerney 2006: 50-53; Papazarkadas 2011: 244-259. The region continued to be a bone of contention: Androtion *BNJ* 324 F30 and Philochoros *BNJ* 328 F155. Athenians and Megarians each had a watchtower on either end of the tract (Ober 1985: 175-178; Smith 2008: 73).

42 The Athenian argument was built around Nisos, the son of a mythical Athenian king, who was given as his inheritance the land that was henceforth Nisaia, later Megara: Pind. *Pyth.* 9.91; *Nem.* 5.46; Strab. 9.1.6; Paus. 1.5.3 and 1.39.4. 2.34.7. Plutarch records that Theseus was said to have ruled over the Megarid (*Thes.* 25).

43 The Boiotian link came by means of a marriage tie between Nisos and a noble woman from Onchestos. When pressed for his kingdom, her brother Megareus set out to aid Nisos against foreign invaders. Later he succeeded to the throne: Paus. 1.39.5; Plut. *Mor.* 295a-b = *Greek Questions* #16. The *Catalogue of Ships* mentions Nisa as part of the Boiotian contingent, two lines apart from Onchestos (*Il.* 2.506-508).

Historicity is not at stake here.⁴⁴ What matters for our purposes is how the Megarians related to the claim that they were, allegedly, convert Dorians. It is noteworthy to see that the Megarians, as such, figured as a distinctive group over which Dorians, Ionians, and Boiotians laid claims. Is it conceivable that they became wholehearted members of any one of these groupings, or, according to the tradition of shifting ethnic affiliation, first either Ionians or Boiotians and then Dorians? Dialect analysis shows that Megarian speech shares some features with Doric Greek, but it is also too distinct, containing various other linguistic influences, to be labeled Dorian. Studies in material culture also alert us that the pottery production followed mostly local styles. The decree culture of the Megarid is best understood as one of local distinctiveness. Finally, Megara's calendar (the little that can be said about it) was strictly Megarian rather than Dorian or anything else.⁴⁵

The various indexes of ethnic affiliation (dialects, material culture) are notoriously fraught with interpretative challenges. Each of these rubrics comes with its baggage of methodological conjectures and caveats. Moreover, there is a marked difference between what others thought about Megara's place in the genealogical tree of Hellenicity and what the Megarians believed to be the case. This belief translated into a lived, local experience. When we address the question of the Megarians' Dorianness from this latter perspective, it is extremely doubtful that Dorian affiliations wielded a significant impact over the Megarians, if any.

Pausanias clarifies the discrepancy. When he visited the city, the opposition between Dorians and Ionians had long lost its initial meaning. As mentioned earlier, Pausanias encountered many stories of primordial descent and ethnic belonging: what the Athenians said, and what the Spartans said. Yet the people of Megara also had something to say about their origins, and their version was decidedly epichoric. The famous Fountain House of Theagenes at Megara, they said, was supplied with waters sacred to the Sithnidian nymphs that were local, *epichōrios*. One of these had sex with Zeus and the resulting child,

44 Hanell 1934 organized his "Megarische Studien" according to a pre-Dorian and a Dorian period, a separation which also figured, yet less antithetically, in Legon 1981: 41-85. This is not the place to engage with, and dismiss, the extensive presumptions of the Dorian question.

45 Cf. Robu 2014; Robu and Bîrzescu 2016; see also Adrian Robu's contribution below. Decrees: Liddell 2009.

Megaros, had escaped Deukalion's flood in his youth by taking refuge on Mt Geraneia to the west of the Megarid. The name of the mountain range was connected with Megaros' temporary flight, and up until Pausanias' day, there was a sanctuary nearby that was connected with this story. Everything in this legend, from the land as a habitat of divine figures, to the countryside as physical space of human agency and canvas of meaning, related to an ontology of place as we characterized it earlier. The local discourse persisted over time.⁴⁶

Few have noted the longevity of Megarian discourses in Plutarch's *Greek Questions*. Of the 59 questions raised, five relate to Megara either directly or implicitly. Other than Delphi, this is the highest occurrence of any one polis in the *Greek Questions*.⁴⁷ Why this prominence? The *Greek Questions* show a general interest in the central section of the Hellenic corridor, from the Malian Gulf into the Peloponnese. By and large, this was Plutarch's home turf, which helps to explain in part the preponderance of cultural idiosyncrasies from the region. Also, two or three of the Megarian questions related to Apollo's pronouncements at Delphi. Hence, Plutarch will have learned about them in Delphi rather than in Megara, although the one source of information does not automatically preclude the other. For instance, when he relates what an "*aphabrōma* is among the Megarians" (#16, *Mor.* 295a-b), Plutarch advises that it is a particular female dress that went back to mythical beginnings of the city. The Megarian women had wanted to change their attire over time, but each time they initiated the switch, the god prevented them by an oracle. In a similar vein, Plutarch dwells on the meaning of Megarian "return interest" (#18, *Mor.* 295c-d) and Megarian "wagon rollers" (#59, *Mor.* 304e-f), which related back to what Plutarch called the period of the "unbridled democracy" (ἀκολάστου δημοκρατίας).⁴⁸ While the "wagon rollers" had killed several people who were on a festival embassy to Delphi, "return interest" was emblematic of the wave of violence against the local elites triggered by the Megarian poor.

⁴⁶ Paus. 1.40.1-2. Larson 2001: 146. On the Fountain House, cf. now Tsalkou 2016: 263-265.

⁴⁷ Cf. Halliday 1928; Payen 1998. If we add #39, where Megara is mentioned only in passing (from Architimos *BNJ* 315 F1), this makes for a frequency of c. 10% of all questions.

⁴⁸ Unbridled democracy: Legon 1981: 104-135; Forsdyke 2005a.

Both instances paint a tumultuous picture of Megara in the decades after the downfall of Theagenes, when, according to Plutarch, the poor and unscrupulous governed the city. Given the voice of antidemocratic prejudice, combined with the intellectual figure of constitutional upheaval and system change, Plutarch's source might have been Aristotle's (lost) *Constitution of the Megarians* (fr. 550 Rose³). Condemnations of the violent and insolent behavior of the poor toward the rich during the decades in question suggest that much.⁴⁹ Yet, at least the "wagon rollers" from #59 were remembered by the Delphic Amphictyony, as Plutarch makes it clear with reference to the legal action of the council against the perpetrators. Moreover, both the clan of "wagon rollers" – who bore the name for generations to come, branding them as descendants of wrong-doers – as well as the more general circumstances associated with the issue of "return interest" were grounded in place. Plutarch references the site where the "wagon rollers" committed their sacrilege: "at Aigeiros beside the lake". The comment is so casual that everyone seems to have known where it was.⁵⁰ The place where "return interest" had taken its toll was different. Many members of the local elite nourished traditions of turmoil and dispossession during the "unbridled democracy", when the poor violently entered their homes and demanded money. Effectively, the homes of the local elites bore witness to the story, if only to remind the fellow citizens about the disastrous consequences of the "wanton violence of the poor" (Arist. *Pol.* 1304 b 20).⁵¹ Questions #18 and 59 thus shed light on a moment in Megarian history that wielded a lasting impact over the city and its people.

Question #57 sheds light on an isolated instance in Megara's early history. At some point during the "unbridled democracy" the Megarians sent an expedition force of 600 men to attack the Samian colony Perinthos on the northern shores of the Propontis. The region had virtually become a "Megarian preserve"⁵² in the course of the seventh century BCE. Yet the troubles in Megara in the decades on either side of 600 BCE soon spilled over into

49 This was first established by Halliday 1928; cf. also Legon 1981: 104–105; Forsdyke 2005a: 55 and 2005b.

50 The town is also mentioned in the Megarian mockery of the *Catalogue of Ships* as recollected by Strabo, see below note 54.

51 The contribution by Alex McAuley below sheds light on a different strategy of preserving elite memories, the institution of the *ephebeia*.

52 Legon 1981: 120.

the colonies. Plutarch relates a series of raids and counter-raids in the Propontis in which the Megarian forces played a critical role, although their actions lacked consistency and coherence. Things did not go well. The fetters they had initially brought to Perinthos to enslave their enemies were put on display in a building of the same name at Samos, the Hall of Fetters, which is the trigger to Plutarch's tale. Both the language and the way in which the conflict is outlined make it likely that Plutarch drew again on Aristotle's corpus, this time most likely the *Constitution of the Samians*.⁵³ It is difficult to miss the sense of pride over past imperial grandeur: the glorious days when Megara was an Aegean power on equal footing with Corinth, Sikyon, Athens, and the great maritime powers of Miletus and Samos. In the Classical Period, and more so by the time of Plutarch's writing, this grandeur had of course long vanished. In the local discourse of the city, this decline must have invited an ongoing communicative mediation between local and colonial affinities that responded in one way or another to the long trajectory of demise.⁵⁴

Scholars have attempted to couch the Perinthos episode in the wider web of political and military events. At around the same time, maybe a few years later, Megara was shaken by the loss of Salamis, which further complicated the situation. As the local discourse indicates, the Megarians struggled with the loss. When the Athenians, citing Homer in their support, claimed that the island of Salamis was their possession of old, the Megarians countered this with a local parody of the *Catalogue of Ships*. In their counter-version, they claimed that much of the Athenian armada was actually Megarian.⁵⁵ The Megarian point of view was also articulated in local historiography.⁵⁶ Hereas of Megara betrays that the Megarians had a very different understanding of the events that led to the loss of their control over the island Salamis than the Athenians did (*BNJ* 486 F 4, comm.). Praxion of Megara (fourth century BCE) extended the issue of rival claims over Salamis to the wider horizon of the Saronic Gulf. In his work, he said that Athena Skiras, which the Athenians

53 See also #20, *Mor.* 296a-b = fr. 576 Rose³. The story of the renowned Megarian engineer Eupalinos (Hdt. 3.60), architect of the tunnel at Samos, somehow relates to the picture of close contacts between Samos and Megara although we do not know how.

54 On Megara's colonial experience, see also the contribution by Franco de Angelis below.

55 Strab. 9.1.10 with Robu 2015: 34-41.

56 Cf. also the contribution by Daniel Tober below.

said was of Eleusinian (and hence Athenian) provenance, took her name from Skiron, a small site along the road from Athens and Megara, and in the territory of the latter (*BNJ* 484 F 1). There was potential for all sorts of confusion of Skiron the place, with Skiros the mythical king of Salamis, and Skiron the rogue bandit from Isthmia who tortured people along the Skironian Way to Corinth. The web of legends is impossible to disentangle, but Praxion's local history makes it clear that the Megarians saw Skiron in a particular light: he was one of their earliest kings (cf. Paus. 1.39.6; Plut. *Thes.* 10). Thus, he was firmly rooted on the Megarian side of the border, and so was all cultural capital that emanated from his legend.⁵⁷ In sum, no matter what the actual entanglements of the Perinthos campaign were, its commemoration reminded everyone of the glory of the olden days. The difference between the seventh century and any period thereafter was obvious to everyone. Clearly, it left its mark on the Megarian local discourse environment.⁵⁸

The final Megarian question highlights the perseverance of local knowledge over time. In #17 (*Mor.* 295b–c) Plutarch explains that “spear-friends” among the Megarians were those who had become prisoners during a remote civil war. The war was fought in the noble manner: no men working the fields were captured, while other prisoners were treated with respect in their opponents' homes before being released for a ransom. In the future, they were “spear-friends” of their former enemies. Introducing the episode, Plutarch says it occurred in a distant past when the Megarians still settled in five villages (κατὰ κώμας), and citizens were divided into five parts (μέρη): Heraïis, Peraiïis, Megareïis, Kynosoureïis, and Tripodiskioi. With *kōmai* being prominent fixtures of the so-called Dorian constitutions, scholars have approached the passage in an attempt to provide evidence for a Dorian identity at Megara. Ronald Legon has pointed out that throughout its later history, a five-part structure was characteristic of “magistracies, probouleutic bodies, and commissions” (47) at Megara, which suggested a certain longevity of the *kōmai* in local

⁵⁷ Cf. commentary to *BNJ* 484 F1 (Peter Liddel).

⁵⁸ Cf. the contribution by Philip Smith below who argues for a particular Megarian middling way, which rose also in response to the city's unique historical trajectory.

life.⁵⁹ Indeed, Aristotle (*Poet.* 1448a) explains that the Megarians saw their *kōmai* as equivalent to the demes of Attica. Aristotle does not elaborate on their socio-political capacities and functions, however; the context of the passage is that it was claimed by certain Megarians that their *kōmai* were indicative of the city's distinct tradition, if not entire invention, of the literary genre of comedy. Again, the way in which Plutarch cites those place names suggests that they were of common knowledge to everyone in the area. As such, they bore testimony of Megarian conceptions of space in the plains between Mt Kerata and Mt Geraneia.

When the smaller villages coalesced into the Megarian city-state, in the course of the eighth century BCE, the rise of the new urban center provided the Megarians with a new local horizon, with its characteristic separation between polis and hinterland. Theognis bears ample witness of this local world.⁶⁰ Throughout the polis territory, there existed several second order settlements and functional localities, such as small agricultural settlements, harbour places, and fortified sites. They were all part of the imagined community of the Megarians. Given their long duration, it should come as no surprise that some of them established a gravitational pull of their own: Pagai and Aigosthena are but two obvious cases.⁶¹ Other localities amalgamated with the local horizon of what was considered to be the Megarian state.⁶² The Megarian *kōmai* thus offer a good example both of the shifts in the local horizon and of its functional localities within. Megara's local world was built on the idea of an imagined community with multiple functional localities within, but none of those shapes was ever set or static.

59 Plut. *Mor.* 295b–c; Aristot. *Poet.* 1448a 30–33. See also *IG* VII.1 from the Hellenistic period, which references *kōmai* in line 18. On their believed Dorian backdrop, Hanell 1934: 69–91; Legon 1981: 41–58. See now also Robu 2015: 361–366 who is naturally more cautious here.

60 Nagy 1985 continues to be foundational; cf. also the contribution by Stein-Hölkeskamp below.

61 Cf. Legon 2004: 462–465 and Klaus Freitag, below. Another interesting case is the region around Panormos, half-way between Pagai and Aigosthena, see Freitag 2000: 179–180. To the southwest of Pagai, another functional locality has recently been discovered, a rural sanctuary of Apollo (Apotropaioi?), which gained local prominence in the fifth century BCE: Valta 2016.

62 See Robu 2015: 15–54 for an in-depth discussion of the Megarian synoikism. The village Aigeiros (above) is a good example of a settlement that was absorbed at one point into the imagined community of Megara.

Composed many centuries after the instances they relate, Plutarch's *Greek Questions* are the result of multiple ruptures of meaning. Some of the aetiologies reported, while initially conceived to disclose the meaning of cultural practice, will have appeared folkloristic in Plutarch's days. Other pieces of information were filtered on multiple occasions and appropriated to the purposes of diverse referencing authorities. The corresponding sections from Aristotle's collection of constitutions, and their classification according to set socioeconomic criteria, make this amply clear. At the same time, Plutarch's *Questions* disclose the meaning of locally encoded practices and sayings – incomprehensible semantic idiosyncrasies that were erratic to those who lacked local literacy. The mere fact that these traditions survived indicates that they mattered to the Megarians in one way or another, although we cannot always determine with certainty just exactly how. Over time, however, in swiftly changing circumstances in the world around them, those local idiosyncrasies provided the Megarians with stability, allowing them to relate to time and place, and adding to a rich, colorful canvas of meaning.

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Chapter 2

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Mythic Highways of the Megarid

Situated on the land bridge connecting the Peloponnese to the rest of mainland Greece, the ancient polis of Megara was in a position that was both privileged and perilous. With land and sea access to all points of the compass, Megara was well-placed to profit from trade and traffic passing from the Peloponnese to central Greece or from the Corinthian to the Saronic Gulf. Nevertheless, the strategic advantages of Megara's position also worked against it, squeezed as it was on east and west by its competitive neighbours Corinth and Athens. Megarian territory itself was peculiarly porous, in that their enviable locale also meant that the Megarid was repeatedly penetrated by others. What was local for Megara was a highway for others, near and far, and the many wars that pitted the Peloponnesian states against Athens or Boiotia inevitably resulted in armies marching through the Megarid.¹

Early legends of Megara often stress the notion of the Megarid as a place of passage: people pass through, but they do not tend to stay (unless they die). Although we find the odd attempt on the part of the Megarians to claim at least a limited autochthony, even their

¹ See Legon 1981: 33–40; Smith 2008: 84–86. “The issue constantly before the Megarians was whether to encourage, aid, obstruct, or ignore this traffic, weighing such factors as friendship, profit, and security” (Legon 1981: 33–34). For a recent and nuanced study of the characteristics of the region of the Isthmus of Corinth and their impact on human development, see Pettegrew 2016.

royal dynasties seem to come from away. Of course, the tangled complex of Megarian legend was subject to pressures and distortions by the traditions of its more powerful neighbours, particularly the Athenians. But enough of the Megarian voice survives to suggest that even the Megarians themselves – as well they might – often saw their territory as a thoroughfare for others.

Megara between Dorian and Ionian

The first century geographer Strabo remarks on the Isthmus of Corinth as a natural and long-recognized boundary, which at the same time was the subject of frequent disagreement (the inescapable fate of all boundaries):

Since the Peloponnesians and Ionians were having frequent disputes about their boundaries, on which, among other places, Krommyonia was situated, they made an agreement and erected a pillar in the place agreed upon, near the Isthmus itself, with an inscription on the side facing the Peloponnesos reading: ‘This is Peloponnesos, not Ionia,’ and on the side facing Megara, ‘This is not Peloponnesos, but Ionia.’²

From the description, it seems that this vaunted pillar was situated in the area near Krommyon and the narrowest neck of the Isthmus. Aside from suggesting that boundary disputes stretched back to time immemorial, the story also implies that the division between the Peloponnese and the lands beyond the Isthmus was not purely geographic: there was a clear ethnic component to it as well. The fourth century BCE Attidographer Androtion also spoke of the pillar and the implied ethnic division:

There are other Iaones besides the Iones [i.e., Ionians]. For Androtion says that, after determining the boundary from [i.e., with] Lakedaïmon they set up a stele (inscribed) as follows: “These (lands and peoples) are not Peloponnesos but Iaones”. And (the) Iones, from the other side, (set up a stele inscribed) in this

2 9.1.6; Loeb translation, slightly adapted.

way: “These (lands and peoples) are not Iaones but Peloponnesos”. As a result, some are on this side, others on that side.³

The story of the pillar is generally rejected as mythic, though Nicholas Jones marshals some arguments in favour of accepting the possibility of a kernel of truth behind it.⁴ Strabo tells the story in the context of his arguments – or rather, the arguments of the Atthidographers he is quoting – to the effect that at this point in the heroic age (roughly the time of the Trojan War), Megara itself had not yet been founded, the Megarid was controlled by Athens, and its inhabitants were considered to be Ionian (9.1.5). According to Strabo, when Attica was divided among the four sons of the Athenian king Pandion – Aigeus, Lykos, Pallas, and Nisos – the Megarid was awarded to Nisos as his share of the Athenian patrimony; he thereupon founded Nisaia, which became the Saronic port of the historical polis of Megara (9.1.6).⁵

Strabo reports the unanimity of the Atthidographers on this point, though he does record disagreement as to the actual extent of Nisos’ territory: “Now Philochoros says that his kingdom extended from the Isthmus until the Pythion, but according to Andron only as far as Eleusis and the Thriasian plain.”⁶ “From the Isthmus” (ἀπὸ Ἰσθμοῦ) is fairly clear: although the term “Isthmus of Corinth” has often been used loosely (both in antiquity and today) to refer to the entire land bridge stretching from the Peloponnese to the eastern

3 Androtion of Athens *BNJ* 324 F61b (*schol. Iliad* 13.685 (B); translation N.F. Jones). Cf. Androtion *FGrH* 324 F61a, which does not appear in *BNJ* (see the next note), and also Strabo 9.1.5.

4 Harding 2008: “The stele is, of course, a fiction and represents one of the most tendentious fabrications of the *Atthis*, created in blatant service of the Athenian claim to have ruled the Megaris” (49–50; see also Harding 1994: 189–191). Jones 2015 (*apud* Androtion *BNJ* 324 F60c, second paragraph and following). Unfortunately, this section of the *BNJ* entry on Androtion is problematic: F61a is missing, and the commentary that appears at F60c seems (from the second paragraph on) to be the commentary that was supposed to be attached to F61a. From personal correspondence with Professor Jones, I gather that the most likely source of this confusion was a problem with the upload to the *BNJ* site.

5 Myths of early Athens are confusing and contain doublets, including two Pandions and two Kekropes. This Pandion, father of Nisos, is the son of Kekrops; an earlier Pandion, said to be the son of Erichthonios, was father to Prokne and Philomela (see further below). Pausanias seems to conflate the two (1.5.2–4). Both Pandion and Nisos are in fact likely to have been Megarian heroes in their origins: as Robert Fowler puts it, “Nisos is self-evidently at home in Nisaia, and the story of exile and return of the other three brothers is a back-handed attempt to make Megara Athenian” (Fowler 2013: 482). See also Kearns 1989: 115–117, 188, 191–192; Harding 2008: 49.

6 Strab. 9.1.6 (Andron of Halikarnassos *BNJ* 10 F14; Philochoros of Athens *BNJ* 328 F107; *BNJ* 329 F2); translation D.L. Toye.

Megarid, the narrow neck at the western end was always thought of as the “true” Isthmus.⁷ Nisos’ kingdom thus reached beyond the heights of Geraneia, and no doubt included the Perachora peninsula.⁸ The eastern border was somewhat in dispute: the Athenian Philochoros allowed for an extension as far as the deme of Oinoe in the extreme northwest of Attica, while the Halikarnassian Andron drew the boundary further east at Eleusis and the Thriasian plain.⁹

To continue for the moment with Strabo’s version, which relies heavily on the Atthidographers: after the division of the Athenian kingdom (and its subsequent reconsolidation, over which Strabo passes in silence), the return of the Herakleidai resulted in the Doricization of many regions. When the Herakleidai attacked Athens, ruled by King Kodros at the time, they were defeated, but managed to retain the Megarid (Strabo does not offer any new definitions of its boundaries). They founded the city of Megara, magically turned all its Ionian inhabitants into Dorians, and then destroyed (instead of just repositioning) the pillar (9.1.7).¹⁰

In Strabo’s version, Nisos rules the Megarid as part of his Athenian paternal inheritance, and there is no sign of any group of distinct “Megarians” until after the Dorian takeover. Pausanias reports a more complex story, though one which still tends to privilege Athenian primacy and ownership, especially since he goes out of his way on more than one occasion to criticize the Megarian accounts of their own mythistory:

Next to Eleusis is the district called Megaris. This too belonged to Athens in ancient times, Pylas the king having left it to Pandion. My evidence is this; in the land is the grave of Pandion, and Nisos, while giving up the rule over the Athenians to Aigeus, the eldest of all the family, was himself made king of

7 See Pettegrew 2016: 15–16, 31, 38–39, 141–142.

8 On conflicting Megarian and Corinthian claims to the Perachora peninsula, see Hammond 1954; Salmon 1972; Legon 1981: 66–69; Smith 2008: 97.

9 See Taylor 1997: 22–23; Fowler 2013: 482; Jones 2016 (*apud* BNJ 328 F107). Philochoros’ boundary marker in the north and Andron’s in the south are not necessarily mutually incompatible, though Strabo seems to have seen them so.

10 See also Hdt. 5.76 (who awards a leading role to the Spartans); Strab. 14.2.6; Paus. 1.39.4–5; BNJ 487 F3.

Megara and of the territory as far as Corinth. Even at the present day the port of the Megarians is called Nisaia after him.¹¹

King Pylas, then, was king of Megara prior to Pandion's Athenian lineage taking over. Megara thus had presumably already been founded, though Pausanias has nothing more to say about its ruler Pylas in this context.¹² If we turn to (Pseudo-)Apollodoros for more detail, we discover that Pandion was driven into exile from Athens and, taking refuge with Pylas, married his daughter Pylia.¹³ When Pylas himself went into exile, the Megarian throne passed to Pandion as the Megarian king's son-in-law, and ultimately to Nisos, Pylas' grandson.

Between them, Strabo and Pausanias report three different versions of the foundation and/or refoundation of Megara:

[The Herakleidai] made an expedition against Attica. But being defeated in battle they retired from the whole of the land except the Megarian territory; this they occupied and not only founded the city Megara but also made its population Dorians instead of Ionians.¹⁴

Subsequently in the reign of Kodros the Peloponnesians made an expedition against Athens. Having accomplished nothing brilliant, on their way home they took Megara from the Athenians, and gave it as a dwelling-place to such of the Corinthians and of their other allies as wished to go there. In this way the Megarians changed their customs and dialect and became Dorians, and they say that the city received its name when Kar the son of Phoroneus was king in this land. It was then they say that sanctuaries of Demeter were first made by

11 Paus. 1.39.4; Loeb translation, slightly modified. Pausanias does not specify the source of his information, but this account seems to lean more towards the Athenian tradition. On Pausanias' account of Megara's mythic kings and heroes, and their connections with the physical spaces of the Megarian polis, see Bohringer 1980.

12 Pylas (Pylos, Pylon) appears later in Pausanias as the eponymous founder of Pylos in Elis and Pylos in Messenia (4.36.1; 6.22.5-6), but Pausanias provides no more detail about Pylas' dynasty. On the accounts of the foundation of Megara, see further below.

13 Cf. Paus. 1.5.3.

14 Strab. 9.1.7; cf. 8.1.2 and 14.2.6.

them, and then that men used the name Megara (“Chambers”). This is their history according to the Megarians themselves. But the Boiotians declare that Megareus, son of Poseidon, who dwelt in Onchestos, came with an army of Boiotians to help Nisos wage the war against Minos; that falling in the battle he was buried on the spot, and the city was named Megara from him, having previously been called Nisa. In the twelfth generation after Kar the son of Phoroneus the Megarians say that Lelex arrived from Egypt and became king, and that in his reign the tribe Leleges received its name... They say further that Nisos was succeeded by Megareus, the son of Poseidon, who married Iphinoë, the daughter of Nisos, but they ignore altogether the Cretan war and the capture of the city in the reign of Nisos.¹⁵

In one version, recorded by both Strabo and Pausanias, Megara comes into being in the aftermath of the failed Heraklid attack on Athens, and its population is Dorianized under the influence of Corinthians and other Peloponnesians who settle there. Scholiastic comments on Plato’s *Euthydemos* and Pindar’s *Nemean* 7 state outright that Megara was an *apoikia* of Corinth.¹⁶ In the Megarian version, their city’s name was of much greater antiquity, having been named from the worship of Demeter in the time of the mythical Kar, some fifteen or sixteen generations before the Trojan War.¹⁷ The Boiotians, on the other hand, who claimed Megara’s eponymous hero Megareus for themselves, dated the naming of Megara to the generation of Nisos, immediately before the Trojan War. Pausanias does not explicitly state that his Megarian sources directly contradicted the Boiotians, though the implication is that they did.¹⁸

15 Paus. 1.39.4–6 = *BNJ* 487 F3 (Piccirilli 1975: no. 5 F2a); in 1.41, Megareus is king by reason of his kinship with Nisos.

16 Ephorus *BNJ* 70 F19 = *schol. Euthydemos* 292e; Demon of Athens *BNJ* 327 F19 = *schol. Nemean Odes* 7.155b. Skymnos of Chios (*GGM* 1.216) asserts that the Dorians who settled Megara were mostly Corinthian and Messenian. See Legon 1981: 45. Parker 2011 (*apud Ephoros BNJ* 70 F19), citing Hanell 1934, argues that the cultic evidence shows that Dorian influence in Megara came primarily from Argos (note that Kar was a son of the Argive culture-hero Phoroneus).

17 On the mythic traditions about Megara’s royal dynasties, see Legon 1981: 42; Smith 2008: 93–97.

18 Liddel suggests the possibility that the Megarians themselves might have played up their Boiotian connections “for diplomatic reasons” (2007c *apud BNJ* 487 F3).

The hero Megareus deserves a word or two of his own, since not even the Megarians (or at least any of their extant records) claimed him as a native Megarian.¹⁹ In chapter 39 of Book 1, Pausanias reports the Boiotian account that Megareus, a son of Poseidon, came from Onchestos in Boiotia to assist Nisos of Megara in his war against Minos; he died in the war, was buried at Megara, and bequeathed his name to the city.²⁰ The Megarians evidently agreed that Megareus was a son of Poseidon and that he came to Megara in the time of Nisos, whereupon he married Nisos' daughter Iphinoë and ultimately succeeded to the throne. They seem to have rejected, however, the notion that Megareus died in the war with Minos and thereupon became a sort of eponymous "founder".

Pausanias expresses his aggravation with the Megarian historians (and/or contemporary Megarians with whom he may have had conversations) for their refusal to acknowledge that Minos' war against Nisos resulted in the fall of Megara:

Not far from the tomb of Hyllos is a temple of Isis, and beside it one of Apollo and of Artemis. They say that Alkathous made it after killing the lion called Kithaironian. By this lion they say many were slain, including Euippos, the son of Megareus their king, whose elder son Timalkos had before this been killed by Theseus while on a campaign with the Dioskouroi against Aphidna. Megareus they say promised that he who killed the Kithaironian lion should marry his daughter and succeed him in the kingdom. Alkathous therefore, son of Pelops, attacked the beast and overcame it, and when he came to the throne he built this sanctuary, surnaming Artemis Agrotera (Huntress) and Apollo Agraios (Hunter). Such is the account of the Megarians; but although I wish my account to agree with theirs, yet I cannot accept everything they say... The fact is that the Megarians know the true story but conceal it, not wishing it to be thought that their city was captured in the reign of Nisos, but that both

¹⁹ I do not see on what grounds Liddel (2007c *apud* BNJ 487 F1) draws the conclusion that Megareus was the ancestor of Nisos and Skiron.

²⁰ Cf. also Paus. 1.42.1; Skymnos of Chios GGM 1.216. Megareus' father is variously reported as Poseidon, Hippomenes, Apollo, Aigeus, Onchestos, and Zeus; see sources cited by Liddel 2007c *apud* BNJ 487 F3.

Megareus, the son-in-law of Nisos, and Alkathous, the son-in-law of Megareus, succeeded their respective fathers-in-law as king.²¹

What we are seeing, of course, is the rival use of myths of foundation and eponymy by all parties to establish historical claims about priority and primacy and righteousness. The differing versions reflect the efforts of both Megara and Athens, and to a lesser extent Boiotia and Corinth, to assert their competing claims not only to territory but also to the more intangible desiderata of *kleos* and *timē*.²² Since the Greeks tended to accept the legendary past as historical, myths of war and peace, of city-foundations, and of the heroic defeat of enemies and monsters could all be employed as charters to lay claim to prior rights, whether it be over a piece of land, a sanctuary, a religious rite, a water-source, a priestly office, or things even less palpable. The myths of Athens and Megara in particular are extensively intertwined and reflect no doubt the historical tensions between the two states over territories such as Salamis and Eleusis.²³ And myths are not purely charter: such stories were not created with the sole intention of using them as propaganda. Myths also serve as aetiology, and many of these stories may have developed as a way of accounting for the situation of historical Megara.

The significant point here is how many of these stories isolate Megara, and leave it caught between two solitudes. To return to the “famous pillar” (τὴν θρυλουμένην ἐν Ἰσθμῷ στήλῃν), Plutarch claims that it was actually erected by Theseus once he had conquered the Megarid and consolidated the Athenian state.²⁴ The story of the pillar in and of itself suggests that both Athens and the leading Dorian states of the Peloponnese saw the real divide between them and ‘the other’ as the narrowest neck of the Isthmus, next door to Corinth. Some reason had to be found to account for Dorian Megarians coming from the wrong side of the pillar, and a clash between the Ionian Athenians and the Dorian

21 Paus. 1.41.3–5 = *BNJ* 487 F14A (Piccirilli 1975: no. 5 F8a, F9). Cf. Nikandros *BNJ* 271–272 F8; Dieuchidas of Megara *BNJ* 485 F10 (Piccirilli 1975: no. 2 F8); Paus. 1.39.5.

22 See Hanell 1934: 35–48; Harding 1994: 18991; Higbie 1997; Liddel 2007c *apud* *BNJ* 487 F3; Fowler 2013: 481–482.

23 The dispute over Salamis in the Archaic period: Piccirilli 1974, Legon 1981: 137–140, Higbie 1997, Taylor 1997: 21–47, Smith 2008: 101; Megarian-Athenian relations in the fifth century: Legon 1981: 183–256, Harding 1994: 191, Smith 2008: 102–104; the dispute in the 350s and 340s over the sacred *orgas*: Legon 1981: 122–131, 285–290; Liddel 2007b, 2007c, and 2008. See also Beck, this volume.

24 *Thes.* 25.3; see Harding 2008: 50.

Peloponnesians in the time of Kodros offered an excellent aetiological opportunity, as did the version of Athenian absorption of the Megarid in the time of Theseus. Against these dominant versions, the Megarian account of an ancient foundation by Kar some four or five hundred years before the Trojan War found little traction outside of Megara itself.²⁵

Legend thus conflated the Megarians with their Ionian neighbours, leaving them betwixt and between, which was often to be their fate in the historical period.²⁶ It is possible that their natural sympathies may have lain with the Dorians of the Peloponnese (although such putative sympathies did not prevent them from having boundary disputes with Corinth).²⁷ Nevertheless, they were often compelled to throw in their lot with Athens and/or Boiotia. This was the case in 480 BCE, after the Battle of Thermopylai, when the Peloponnesians wanted to withdraw behind the Isthmus wall: the Megarians joined their voices to the Athenians in trying to persuade the Peloponnesians to fight first at Salamis, and then again at Plataia.²⁸

Heroes and Highways

Foundation accounts had a tendency to privilege the actions of others – Athenians, Spartans, Boiotians, Corinthians, Argives – in the creation of the Megarian state and the establishment of its culture. Naturally, many of these stories do not reflect the Megarian “regime of truth”. The (Athenian) stories of Theseus in particular emphasize the barbaric chaos that dominated the Megarid prior to his civilizing actions.²⁹ But other legends of the Megarid also speak to the passage of travelers through its territory, and in this case, most of the stories seem to be Megarian in origin. The fate of these travelers is generally not a happy one.

25 Even so, Kar, as a son of Phoroneus, had clear Peloponnesian (Argive) roots.

26 The Megarian dialect was essentially Doric, with some Ionicisms; see Buck 1955: 165-166; Liddel 2007c *apud* BNJ 487 F3.

27 See Beck, this volume, who cautions against reading too much into the “Dorianness” of the Megarians.

28 Hdt. 8.60a; 8.71-74; 9.7a. See Legon 1981: 165.

29 Other – putatively historical – accounts characterize sixth-century Megara as a chaotic and lawless place: see Forsdyke 2005. Of particular interest is the story that the Megarians attacked and killed a number of sacred ambassadors who were traveling through the Megarid (Plut. *Mor.* 304e-f; Piccirilli 1973: no. 6); cf. the Aristophanic caricatures of Megarians as uncivilized boors. On Alkathous as a civilizing figure in Megara, see Bohringer 1980: 9.

Pausanias clusters a number of these tales together in book 1 as he is describing the monuments of Megara (the fact that he is describing monuments is obviously responsible for the preponderance of death as a connecting motif):³⁰

There is also the tomb (μνημα) of Kar, son of Phoroneus, which was originally a mound of earth (χωμα γῆς), but afterwards, at the command of the oracle, it was adorned with mussel stone (λίθῳ κογχίτῃ).³¹ The Megarians are the only Greeks to possess this stone, and in the city also they have made many things out of it (1.44.6).

There is a citadel here, which also is called Nisaia. Below the citadel near the sea is the tomb (μνημα) of Lelex, who they say arrived from Egypt and became king, being the son of Poseidon and of Libya, daughter of Epaphos (1.44.3).

On the road to the Town-hall is the shrine (ἱερῶν) of the heroine Ino, about which is a fencing of stones, and beside it grows olives. The Megarians are the only Greeks who say that the corpse of Ino was cast up on their coast, that Kleso and Tauropolis, the daughters of Kleson, son of Lelex, found and buried it, and they say that among them first was she named Leukothea, and that every year they offer her sacrifice (1.42.7).³²

There are legends about the rocks, which rise especially at the narrow part of the road. As to the Molourian, it is said that from it Ino flung herself into the sea with Melikertes, the younger of her children. Learchos, the elder of them, had been killed by his father. One account is that Athamas did this in a fit of madness; another is that he vented on Ino and her children unbridled rage when he learned that the famine which befell the Orchomenians and the supposed death of Phrixos were not accidents from heaven, but that Ino, the

30 This paper focuses largely, though not wholly, on the accounts of Pausanias, who provides the most direct comparison and commentary on Megarian and Athenian accounts; it does not purport to be an exhaustive study of Megarian mythistory.

31 Geraneian limestone.

32 See *BNJ* 487 F7 (Piccirilli 1975: no. 5 F4a).

step-mother, had intrigued for all these things. Then it was that she fled to the sea and cast herself and her son from the Molourian Rock. The son, they say, was landed on the Corinthian Isthmus by a dolphin, and honours were offered to Melikertes, then renamed Palaimon, including the celebration of the Isthmian games (1.44.7-8).³³

*Cf. BNJ 487 F7a: Not far from Megara is a place called 'The Track of the Beauty', along which, according to the Megarians, Ino rushed down to the sea holding her child.*³⁴

Here is something else that I heard in Ereneia, a village of the Megarians. Autonoë, daughter of Kadmos, left Thebes to live here owing to her great grief at the death of Aktaion, the manner of which is told in legend, and at the general misfortune of her father's house. The tomb (μνημα) of Autonoë is in this village (1.44.5).

On going down from this sanctuary [of Artemis Agrotera and Apollo Agraios] you see the shrine (ἱερῶν) of the hero Pandion. My narrative has already told how Pandion was buried on what is called the Rock of Athena Aithyia (Gannet).³⁵ He receives honours from the Megarians in the city as well (1.41.6).

Not far from this is the grave (τάφος) of Tereus, who married Prokne the daughter of Pandion. The Megarians say that Tereus was king of the region around what is called Pagai of Megaris, but my opinion, which is confirmed by extant evidence, is that he ruled over Daulis beyond Chaironeia, for in ancient times the greater part of what is now called Greece was inhabited by foreigners. When Tereus did what he did to Philomela and Itys suffered at the hands of the women, Tereus found himself unable to seize them. He committed suicide in Megara, and the Megarians forthwith raised him a barrow (τάφον αὐτίκα ἔχωσαν), and every year sacrifice to him, using in the sacrifice

33 Piccirilli 1975: no. 6 F3a; cf. also F3b.

34 Plut. *Mor.* 675e (Piccirilli 1975: no. 5 F4b).

35 On the Megarian coast; see also Paus. 1.5.3; 1.39.4 (cited above). See Fowler 2013: 482.

gravel instead of barley meal; they say that the bird called the hoopoe appeared here for the first time (1.41.8–9).³⁶

Farther on is the tomb (μνημα) of Eurystheus. The story is that he fled from Attica after the battle with the Herakleidai and was killed here by Iolaos (1.44.10).³⁷

On coming down from the citadel, where the ground turns northwards, is the tomb (μνημα) of Alkmene, near the Olympieion. They say that as she was walking from Argos to Thebes she died on the way at Megara, and that the Herakleidai fell to disputing, some wishing to carry the corpse of Alkmene back to Argos, others wishing to take it to Thebes, as in Thebes were buried Amphitryon and the children of Herakles by Megara. But the god in Delphi gave them an oracle that it was better for them to bury Alkmene in Megara (1.41.1).³⁸

Hard by is the tomb (μνημα) of Hyllos, son of Herakles, who fought a duel with an Arkadian, Echemos the son of Aeropos. Who the Echemos was who killed Hyllos I will tell in another part of my narrative, but Hyllos also is buried at Megara (1.41.2).³⁹

When you have gone down from this road you see a sanctuary of Apollo Latoios, after which is the boundary between Megara and Corinth, where legend says that Hyllos, son of Herakles, fought a duel with the Arkadian Echemos (1.44.10).⁴⁰

There is also a hero-shrine (ἥρωον) of Aigialeus, son of Adrastos. When the Argives made their second attack on Thebes he died at Glisas early in the first

36 See *BNJ* 487 F8 (Piccirilli 1975: no. 5 F3).

37 Piccirilli 1975: no. 5 F18.

38 See *BNJ* 487 F15 (Piccirilli 1975: no. 5 F16).

39 Piccirilli 1975: no. 6 F9.

40 Piccirilli 1975: no. 5 F17.

battle, and his relatives carried him to Pagai in Megaris and buried him, the shrine being still called the Aigialeion (1.44.4).⁴¹

Adrastos also is honored among the Megarians, who say that he too died among them when he was leading back his army after taking Thebes, and that his death was caused by old age and the fate of Aigialeus (1.43.1).⁴²

*Cf. Dieuchidas of Megara BNJ 485 F3: Dieuchidas, in the third book of the Megarian Histories, says that the cenotaph of Adrastos is in Sikyon, but that he himself is buried in Megara.*⁴³

Near the shrine of the hero Pandion is the tomb (μνημα) of Hippolyta. I will record the account the Megarians give of her. When the Amazons, having marched against the Athenians because of Antiope, were overcome by Theseus, most of them met their death in the fight, but Hippolyta, the sister of Antiope and on this occasion the leader of the women, escaped with a few others to Megara. Having suffered such a military disaster, being in despair at her present situation and even more hopeless of reaching her home in Themiskyra, she died of a broken heart, and the Megarians gave her burial. The shape of her tomb is like an Amazonian shield (1.41.7).⁴⁴

They say that there is also a shrine (ἱεῖον) of the heroine Iphigenia; for she too according to them died in Megara. Now I have heard another account of Iphigenia... A sanctuary of Artemis was made by Agamemnon when he came to persuade Kalchas, who dwelt in Megara, to accompany him to Troy (1.43.1).⁴⁵

41 Piccirilli 1975: no. 6 F7a; cf. also F7b.

42 Piccirilli 1975: no. 5 F14.

43 *Schol. Nemean Odes* 9.30a. "The connection with Megara was an expression of Megarian patriotism and rivalry with the Sikyonians" (Liddel *apud* BNJ 485 F3, citing Hanell 1934: 97 and Jacoby *FGrH*; Piccirilli 1975: no. 2 F3).

44 See BNJ 487 F9 (Piccirilli 1975: no. 5 F7).

45 See BNJ 487 F10 (Piccirilli 1975: no. 5 F15). A few lines later Pausanias reports a sanctuary of Artemis, said to have been built by Agamemnon; he specifies that this took place when Agamemnon came to Megara to persuade the prophet

The Megarians have another citadel, which is named after Alkathous. As you ascend this citadel you see on the right the tomb (μνημα) of Megareus, who at the time of the Cretan invasion came as an ally from Onchestos (1.42.1).

Between this and the hero-shrine (ἥρῶον) of Alkathous, which in my day the Megarians used as a record office, was the tomb, they said, of Pyrgo, the wife of Alkathous before he married Euaichme, the daughter of Megareus, and the tomb of Iphinoë, the daughter of Alkathous; she died, they say, a maid. It is customary for the girls to bring libations to the tomb of Iphinoë and to offer a lock of their hair before their wedding (1.43.4).⁴⁶

There is also a sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros. On going down from it you see the tomb (μνημα) of Kallipolis, son of Alkathous. Alkathous had also an elder son, Ischepolis, whom his father sent to help Meleager to destroy the wild beast in Aitolia. There he died, and Kallipolis was the first to hear of his death. Running up to the citadel, at the moment when his father was preparing a fire to sacrifice to Apollo, he flung the logs from the altar. Alkathous, who had not yet heard of the fate of Ischepolis, judged that Kallipolis was guilty of impiety, and forthwith, angry as he was, killed him by striking his head with one of the logs that had been flung from the altar (1.42.6).⁴⁷

Beside the entrance to the sanctuary of Dionysos is the grave (τάφος) of Astykrateia and Manto. They were daughters of Polyidos, son of Koiranos, son of Abas, son of Melampous, who came to Megara to purify Alkathous when he had killed his son Kallipolis (1.43.5).⁴⁸

In the Town-hall are buried, they say, Euippos the son of Megareus and Ischepolis the son of Alkathous. (1.43.2).

Kalchas to accompany him to Troy, but the connection with Artemis suggests this may have been part of the Megarian tradition that Iphigenia died there.

⁴⁶ See Liddel *apud* BNJ 487 F6 on the confusion over the identity of Iphinoë; see also Piccirilli 1975: no. 5 F13.

⁴⁷ Piccirilli 1975: no. 6 F5.

⁴⁸ Piccirilli 1975: no. 5 F11.

The Megarians have a council chamber which once, they say, was the grave (τάφος) of Timalkos, who just now I said was not killed by Theseus (1.42.4).⁴⁹

The Megarians have also the grave (τάφος) of Koroibos. The poetical story of him, although it equally concerns Argos, I will relate here. They say that in the reign of Krotopos at Argos, Psamathe, the daughter of Krotopos, bore a son to Apollo, and being in dire terror of her father, exposed the child. He was found and destroyed by sheepdogs of Krotopos, and Apollo sent Vengeance (Ποινή) to the city to punish the Argives. They say that she used to snatch the children from their mothers, until Koroibos to please the Argives slew Vengeance. Whereat as a second punishment plague fell upon them and stayed not. So Koroibos of his own accord went to Delphi to submit to the punishment of the god for having slain Vengeance. The Pythia would not allow Koroibos to return to Argos, but ordered him to take up a tripod and carry it out of the sanctuary, and where the tripod should fall from his hands, there he was to build a temple of Apollo and to dwell himself. At Mount Geraneia the tripod slipped and fell unawares. Here he dwelt in the village called the Little Tripods (Tripodiskos/Tripodiskoi). The grave of Koroibos is in the market-place of the Megarians. The story of Psamathe and of Koroibos himself is carved on it in elegiac verses and further, upon the top of the grave is represented Koroibos slaying Vengeance. These are the oldest stone images I am aware of having seen among the Greeks (1.43.7-8).⁵⁰

As we would expect, the graves (or monuments) of the legendary kings of Megara, Kar and Lelex, were to be found in Megarian territory, as were those of Pandion and Megareus, as we saw above.⁵¹ The children of Megarian kings also had prominent memorials: Alkathous' daughter Iphinoë and his sons Ischepolis and Kallipolis, and Megareus' sons Euippos and Timalkos. Alkathous himself had a *herōon*, used for the civic

49 See *BNJ* 487 F14B (Piccirilli 1975: no. 5 F8b).

50 Piccirilli 1975: no. 5 F19. See Rigsby 1987.

51 It is clear from Pausanias' descriptions that in many cases where he mentions a *μνημα* he also means to imply a burial.

archives in Pausanias' day.⁵² One might have expected to find a memorial to Nisos (other than the eponymy of the port), but it does not seem that Pausanias' local guide showed him anything along these lines.⁵³

We also learn from these passages that, according to the Megarians, a surprising number of non-Megarian legendary figures were buried in Megarian territory. Leaving aside for the moment the fact that most of Megara's prominent kings also came from the outside (or, as may be the case with Pandion and Nisos, were co-opted by the more dominant Athenian version), we find connections with Boiotia, with Sikyon, with Argos, with Thrace, and of course, with Athens.

Alkmene, the mother of Herakles, and also his son Hyllos were buried in Megara.⁵⁴ In both cases it would seem that Megara was not their ultimate destination: Alkmene is explicitly said to have been on her way from Argos to Thebes. As for Hyllos, since he died in combat with the Arkadian Echemos, we must presume that his body was returned after his death from the Peloponnese to Megara. Herakles' cousin and tormentor Eurystheus also had a grave in Megarian territory, where he was killed by Iolaos as he fled from Attica.⁵⁵

The Amazon Hippolyta likewise had not intended Megara to be her final resting-point; she simply died there from grief after the debacle in Athens. Two of the unfortunate daughters of Kadmos and Harmonia had graves in Megara: Autonoe, because she could not bear to live in Thebes any longer, and Ino, because in her madness she apparently ran all the way from Orchomenos in Boiotia so that she could hurl herself and her child into the Saronic Gulf from the steep cliffs of the Megarid. Plutarch – that is to say, the Megarians – even identified the route along which she ran through Megarian territory. The Argive/Sikyonian hero Adrastus died on his way through the Megarid after the

52 Bohringer 1980 points to the close connection between many of the monuments and the political spaces of the Megarian state.

53 Paus. 1.19.4 locates a μνημα of Nisos near the Athenian Lykeion; Thucydides, however, using very vague language, may reference a monument or shrine of Nisos in Megara in the fifth century (4.118.4).

54 The fact that one of Herakles' unfortunate wives was called Megara would appear to be a coincidence.

55 Ps.-Apollodoros has him killed by Hyllos on the Skironian Way (*Library* 2.8.1).

expedition of the Epigonoι against Thebes.⁵⁶ Even Iphigenia was claimed by the Megarians.

Pausanias reports at length a foundation myth involving the legendary Koroibos of Argos. Tasked with seeking purification for himself and the city of Argos for having killed an agent of Apollo's vengeance, Koroibos traveled to Delphi. He was there instructed that he could not return to Argos and was instead to settle wherever he dropped the tripod that he had taken with him from the sanctuary. The tripod slipped from his grasp as he was making his way through Megarian territory, and he thereupon founded the settlement of Tripodiskoi/Tripodiskos. Koroibos received the special distinction of a grave in the Megarian agora.

Most, though certainly not all, of the famous graves in Megarian territory were thus graves of foreigners and exiles and wayfarers. Tereus, on the other hand, seems to have been adopted wholesale by the Megarians. According to the Megarian version of the myth, Tereus' kingdom was centered on Pagai, in the part of the Megarid bordering the Corinthian Gulf, whereas other sources place Tereus in Thrace or in Daulis (Phokis).⁵⁷ After raping his sister-in-law Philomela and then cutting her tongue out so that she could not tell his wife, her sister Prokne, Tereus suffered the terrible vengeance of the two women when they cooked up his young son and served him to his father at a banquet. In Ovid's poetic version in the *Metamorphoses*, all the players end up being turned into birds; in the less romantic tale reported by Pausanias, Tereus simply kills himself, and is given a hero's burial and sacrifices. Tereus seems a rather peculiar choice for full-on heroic expropriation:⁵⁸ at least Koroibos and Alkathous, even if imperfect, were civilizing heroes, killing monsters and founding communities. Tereus, on the other hand, like Thyestes, was primarily known for the terrible wrong he did to others and the terrible fate he suffered in return. Still, heroes are often beings who both do and suffer dreadful things: thence comes

56 Dieuchidas of Megara's claim that the Sikyonian monument to Adrastos was only a cenotaph, and that the hero himself was buried in Megara, suggests an ongoing rivalry over the claim to this particular figure; Herodotus' story of the seventh-century tyrant Kleisthenes' efforts to oust Argive Adrastos from Sikyon speaks to the same phenomenon of pursuing contemporary political rivalries and ambitions through the medium of legend (Hdt. 5.67-68). See also Hall 1999.

57 Thrace: Ovid *Met.* 6.424-674, Paus. 1.5.4, Ps.-Apollod. *Library* 3.14.8; Daulis: Paus. 1.41.8. Tereus, as a son-in-law of Pandion (I or II), had ties to Athens (and, arguably, to Megara).

58 Such a comment of course presupposes that the figure of Tereus was not in fact Megarian in its origins.

their power. Heroic sacrifices, moreover, might be intended as propitiation of a vengeful spirit.⁵⁹

Megara was in no way unusual in claiming the graves of heroes and heroines, including those from elsewhere (though Pausanias does make the observation that the Megarians were the only ones among all the Greeks to claim the body of Ino). On the contrary, this was a widespread phenomenon. Herodotus remarks that ever since the Spartans retrieved the bones of Orestes from Tegea, they went from victory to victory (1.68). As for the Athenians, they brought home the body of Theseus from the island of Skyros shortly after the Persian Wars, and buried it in the heart of the city, where the tomb became, as Plutarch says, “a sanctuary and place of refuge for runaway slaves and all men of low estate who are afraid of men in power, since Theseus was a champion and helper of such during his life, and graciously received the supplications of the poor and needy”.⁶⁰

Orestes and Theseus are just two of the more famous examples; every Greek city-state had heroic tombs they could point to. But it is striking how many of the legendary individuals in the Megarian tales are passing through Megara and either have no – or only a tangential – connection to Megara itself. On the one hand, this is of course an obvious sign that Megara has co-opted these figures, both as a means of propping up the Megarian side in rivalries with Athens, Boiotia, and others, and perhaps also, as Jonathan Hall suggests, as a way to create diplomatic links with other poleis.⁶¹ Megara was not the only state whose ‘local’ heroes came from somewhere else, and other states claimed some of the same individuals as the Megarians did.

Nevertheless, there does seem to be a curiously fitting symbolic reflection in these tales of the nature of the Megarid itself and its place in the mythic mind of the Greeks as primarily a place of passage. If we return briefly now to the kings of Megara, it seems that ultimately virtually none of them is Megarian. In an Athenian-coloured tale of Pandion and Nisos, this is hardly surprising: Emily Kearns has shown how these figures, originally Megarian, were pulled into the Athenian orbit by Athenian storytellers and historians. But even the

59 Ekroth (1999: 155) suggests that the replacement of barley with pebbles in the rites for Tereus is to be connected to “the particular circumstances connected with Tereus’ actions and his death”.

60 Plut. *Thes.* 36. See Kearns 1989: 47–53; Hall 1999: 50; McCauley 1999; Welwei 2002.

61 Hall 1999: 52.

legendary Kar and Lelex came from the outside, and though over time their descendants might be considered to be bona fide Megarian rulers, the truth is that we have very little in the way of actual stories about bred-in-the-bone Megarian kings.⁶² The sons and grandsons of Kar are simply nameless place-holders in the genealogical chart, just as Kar and Lelex themselves appear to be little more than eponyms of ethnic groups.⁶³

Kings such as (the Boiotian) Megareus and (the Eleian) Alkathous are more fleshed out in the tradition.⁶⁴ The Megarian tales of Megareus and Alkathous recognized both their non-Megarian roots and the loss of all their sons and hence the end of their dynasties.⁶⁵ Alkathous inherited Megareus' throne on the strength of his feat in killing the lion of Kithairon and through his marriage to Megareus' daughter Euaichme. The Megarians were apparently silent on the matter of the succession upon the death of Alkathous, but Pausanias fills in the gap:

Another sanctuary has been made here to Athene of Victory and another to the Athene of Ajax. The Megarian sacred officials say nothing about it, but I shall record what I suppose happened. Telamon the son of Aiakos lived with Periboia the daughter of Alkathous, and I imagine his son Ajax made the statue of Athene when he inherited Alkathous' throne (1.42.4).⁶⁶

62 Kar, as a son of Phoroneus, probably hailed from the Peloponnese, and Lelex came from Egypt (contrast the Athenian absolute insistence on their own autochthony: see Kearns 1989: 110–115).

63 Interestingly, Skiron is the one descendant of Lelex (Paus. 1.39.5) around whom genuine Megarian tales collected; see further below.

64 Alkathous, as a son of Pelops and Hippodamia, was a pre-Dorian Peloponnesian, probably associated with Elis (Theognis 1.774; Paus. 1.41.6; Piccirilli 1975: 41; cf. Liddel 2007b *apud* Dieuchidas of Megara BNJ 485 F10). The dominant version of Megareus is that he was of Boiotian origin, though if “Megaros” (Paus. 1.40.1) is to be identified with Megareus, Pausanias found at least one Megarian version in which he was as autochthonous as could be, being the son of Zeus and a local nymph (see Piccirilli 1975: no. 5 F1, and cf. no. 6 F1; Liddel 2007c *apud* BNJ 487 F4). Megaros lived in the time of the flood: again the Megarians emphasize the antiquity of their own community. On Alkathous and the other kings of Megara see Seeliger 1893.

65 Megareus' son Timalkos, according to the Megarians, was killed by Theseus (a story which Pausanias vehemently rejects); his other son Euippos was killed by the lion of Kithairon (Paus. 1.41.4–5). Alkathous' son Ischepolis died in the hunt of the Kalydonian Boar, and his younger son Kallipolis died at his father's own hands (Paus. 1.42.4)

66 It is hard not to see the (clearly non-Megarian) story that Salaminian Ajax ruled Megara as yet another manifestation of Megarian-Athenian rivalry.

The last king of Megara was yet another foreigner: “When Agamemnon’s son Hyperion the last king of Megara was killed by Sandion in greed and arrogance, they decided no longer to have one king, but to select governors and obey them in turn.”⁶⁷ The story is a peculiar one: nowhere else is Agamemnon credited with a son named Hyperion, and the figure of Sandion is a complete cipher. It is true that other tales gave Agamemnon an attachment to the Megarid, as we saw above: the Megarians claimed that Iphigenia was sacrificed in Megara, and that Agamemnon built a sanctuary to Artemis there when he went to persuade the prophet Kalchas – who lived in Megara – to join the Trojan expedition.⁶⁸ Still, there is little to explain the impulse behind the creation of the figure of Hyperion and his reign in Megara, beyond perhaps a desire to create connections to the Argolid and/or to the legends of the Trojan War.

In spite of Pausanias’ complaints about Megarian chauvinism and their refusal to acknowledge certain truths, it seems that even the Megarians recognized the transitory nature of their royal dynasties, including the repeated passage of the throne to a foreign son-in-law. This recognition might account for the insistence on the twelve unbroken generations of Kar’s descendants. Their kings and founders were alien wayfarers, some of them exiles, as were so many of the other heroic figures associated with the Megarid. If one was to travel at all, at least by land, the highways of the Megarid were difficult to avoid, a reality that allowed the Megarians to claim the graves of so many legendary characters. But as a destination in and of itself, Megara held little appeal to the outside world, and the Megarians themselves, with apologies to the Beatles, would have seemed to be nowhere men living in a nowhere land.

67 Paus. 1.43.3. Pausanias does not specify that this story was Megarian in origin, and it is not included in Liddel’s compilation of anonymous Megarian historians (*BNJ* 487); nevertheless, the fact that it is told in the context of a Megarian account of their own constitutional development makes it likely that the story of Hyperion is a Megarian myth; Piccirilli 1975: no. 6 F8. See Piccirilli 1975: 179 n. 43 for an obscure tradition of a later Megarian king called Klytios in the time of the Bacchiads.

68 Paus. 1.43.1 = *BNJ* 487 F10. Pausanias parses out the individual narrative elements, but it is likely that the sacrifice of Iphigenia, the Artemis sanctuary, and Kalchas were all part of the same mythic event. The dominant tradition has the sacrifice take place at Aulis in Boiotia, but there was an Athenian tradition that it occurred at Brauron (Kearns 1989: 27–33), and the Megarian story may have arisen out of competition with Athens (Liddel 2007c *apud BNJ* 487 F10).

Theseus – Bad Boy of the Megarid

This brings us now to one of the most famous of wayfarers through the Megarid: Theseus, the great saviour of Athens, emulator of Herakles, son of gods and kings, slayer of dragons, legislator extraordinaire, and creator of the Attic state. Aside from the stories around his conception, with their suggestion of the dual paternity of Aigeus and Poseidon, the first extended tale we have about him is his David and Goliath-style rite of passage as he made his way across the Isthmus from Troizen to Athens. As a somewhat more civilized figure than Herakles, Theseus' opponents, at least on this stage of his journeys, were mostly human rather than bestial, though he did have to deal with one particularly nasty pig (at least it had only one head and the regular number of limbs). The Krommyonian Sow may or may not have been considered to belong to the Megarid: earlier we saw that Krommyon's territory was right on the edge of the legendary boundary between the Peloponnese and the Not-Peloponnese.⁶⁹ But certainly within the Megarid was one colourful character who in the Athenian discourse branded it as a land of brigands: Skiron.⁷⁰

Theseus killed Skiron on the borders of Megara, hurling him onto the rocks. According to the prevalent account Skiron robbed passers-by. But others say that with arrogance and insolence (ὑβρεῖ καὶ τρυφῇ), he would stretch out his feet to strangers, order them to wash them, and would then kick out and push them into the sea as they did so.⁷¹

The Molourian rock they thought sacred to Leukothea and Palaimon; but those after it they consider accursed, in that Skiron, who dwelt by them, used to cast into the sea all the strangers he met. A tortoise used to swim under the rocks to seize those that fell in. Sea tortoises are like land tortoises except in size and for

⁶⁹ Strabo definitely puts Krommyon in the Megarid at the time of Theseus' adventures (8.6.22; cf. 9.1.1); see Smith 2008: 97.

⁷⁰ Strabo also puts Sinis/Pityokampes in the same general area as Skiron (9.1.4).

⁷¹ Plut. *Thes.* 10.1 = *BNJ* 487 F1 (Piccirilli 1975: no. 5 F6a); Liddel translation.

their feet, which are like those of seals. Retribution for these deeds overtook Skiron, for he was cast into the same sea by Theseus.⁷²

Theseus slew Skiron, the Corinthian, son of Pelops, or, as some say, of Poseidon. He in the Megarian territory held the rocks called after him Skironian, and compelled passers-by to wash his feet, and in the act of washing he kicked them into the deep to be the prey of a huge turtle. But Theseus seized him by the feet and threw him into the sea.⁷³

The myth of Theseus and Skiron is vividly linked to a notorious mythic and real highway of the Megarid: the Skironian Way. Skiron's very name means something that is "hardened", and may refer to the limestone of the cliffs that form the southeastern terminus of the heights of Geraneia as they plunge into the Saronic Gulf:⁷⁴

After Krommyon are the Skironian Rocks. They leave no room for a road along the sea, but the road from the Isthmus to Megara and Attica passes above them. However, the road approaches so close to the rocks that in many places it passes along the edge of precipices, because the mountain situated above them is both lofty and impracticable for roads. Here is the setting of the myth about Skiron and the Pityokampes, the robbers who infested the above-mentioned mountainous country and were killed by Theseus. And the Athenians have given the name Skiron to the Argestes, the violent wind that blows down on the traveler's left from the heights of this mountainous country.⁷⁵

Today the Skironian Rocks are known as Kakí Skála, and the engineering of the roads and the railway that run along the coast here bear witness to the challenge of navigating this highway in antiquity.⁷⁶ Not until the time of the Roman emperor Hadrian was the road

72 Paus. 1.44.8 (Piccirilli 1975: no. 6 F*4b); Loeb translation, slightly adapted.

73 Ps.-Apollod. *Epit.* E 1.2-3; Loeb translation, slightly adapted.

74 LSJ *σκιρων* (τό), *σκιρός* (ά, όν), *σκιρος* (ό); Hanell 1934: 40.

75 Strab. 9.1.4; Loeb translation, slightly adapted. Cf. also Diod. 4.59, who rationalizes the story by saying Skiron dispatched his victims at a place called Chelonē ('Tortoise').

76 See Legon 1981: 34-35; Smith 2008: 84.

sufficiently widened that chariots going in opposite directions could pass one another.⁷⁷ It was along this stretch of Megarian highway that the robber Skiron worked his wicked wiles, forcing passers-by to wash his feet and then kicking them off the rocks into the sea, where their remains were devoured by a monstrous tortoise. Theseus naturally made Skiron's punishment fit his crime: he flung the Megarian mugger from the Skironian Rocks, and presumably the tortoise made its last meal off its erstwhile benefactor.

The term "Skironian Way" is attested at least as early as Herodotus, who has the Peloponnesians breaking it up in order to block a Persian land advance across the Isthmus in 480 BCE.⁷⁸ Skiron's preferred method of murder – throwing people into the sea – probably reflected a very real fear of this perilous roadway, especially perhaps in stormy weather. But the Megarians put their own spin on Skiron:

The historians from Megara, attacking the legend and, according to Simonides, "waging war on antiquity", say that Skiron was neither an insolent man nor a robber but that he was a punisher of robbers, and he was a kinsman and friend of good and just men.⁷⁹

To the Megarians, Skiron was thus a heroic figure, their own version of a saviour, who punished robbers and made the roads safe for others. Far from kicking random strangers into the sea, the Megarians claimed that Skiron was the one who was responsible for making the Skironian Way passable at all.⁸⁰

In Athenian versions of the tale, Skiron's genealogy is immaterial. For the Megarians, however, concerned to support the idea of Skiron as a local hero, his heritage, his marriage ties, and his posterity were all very important, so much so that contradictory accounts arose.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Paus. 1.44.6 (Piccirilli 1975: no. 5 F6b).

⁷⁸ Hdt. 8.71–74. Nisos' patrimony was described by Sophokles as "the coast of Skiron" (Strab. 9.1.6; see Higbie 1997: 294).

⁷⁹ Plut. *Thes.* 10.2 = *BNJ* 487 F1 (Piccirilli 1975: no. 5 F6a); Liddel translation. See Fowler 2013: 482–483.

⁸⁰ Paus. 1.44.10. Neither Jacoby nor Liddel (2007c) include this passage in the collection of fragments of unknown Megarian historians, but it is very clear that this is a Megarian story.

⁸¹ For Skiron as a cult hero in Megara, see Hanell 1934: 21, 40–45; his genealogies, Seeliger 1893: 34–36.

Kleson was born to Lelex, and to him Pylas, and to him Skiron, who married the daughter of Pandion. And later Skiron came to dispute the leadership with Nisos son of Pandion, and Aiakos arbitrated in the dispute, giving the kingship to Nisos and his descendants, while the leadership in war was to belong to Skiron.⁸²

For in fact Aiakos is considered the most righteous of Greeks, and at Athens Kychreus the Salaminian is honoured as a god and the virtue of Peleus and Telamon is known by everyone. Now, Skiron was son-in-law of Kychreus, father-in-law of Aiakos, grandfather of Peleus and Telamon, who were sons of Endeis, daughter of Skiron and Chariklo. Accordingly it is not likely, they say, that the best would enter into family relationships with the worst, receiving and giving the biggest and most valuable pledges. They say that this [the death of Skiron] took place not when Theseus first went to Athens, but that he later took Eleusis from the Megarians, having deceived its leader Diokles, and killed Skiron. And such are the discrepancies in these matters.⁸³

Some say that the Isthmian games were instituted in memory of Skiron, and that Theseus thus made expiation for his murder, because of the relationship between them; for Skiron was a son of Kanethos and Henioche, who was the daughter of Pittheus.⁸⁴

Theseus slew Skiron, the Corinthian, son of Pelops, or, as some say, of Poseidon.⁸⁵

Skiron is thus variously reported to have been a son of Pylas or a grandson of Pittheus, and to have been married to a daughter of Pandion or a daughter of Kychreus of Salamis. He also – like Lelex, like Megareus, and like Theseus himself – was said to have been a son of

82 Paus. 1.39.6 = *BNJ* 487 F3; Liddel translation.

83 Plut. *Thes.* 10.3–4 = *BNJ* 487 F1 (Piccirilli 1975: no. 5 F6a); Liddel translation. Cf. Paus. 2.29.9; Ps.-Apollod. *Library* 3.12.6.

84 Plut. *Thes.* 25.4 (Piccirilli 1975: no. 6 F4a); see Fowler 2013: 483.

85 Ps.-Apollod. *Epit.* E 1.2.

Poseidon. The version reported by Pausanias bonds Skiron tightly to the Megarian royal family, making him the (only?) son of Pylas and through his marriage the son-in-law of Pandion and brother-in-law of Nisos. There came a time when the two brothers-in-law, Nisos and Skiron, disputed the right to the throne, but given the pejorative Athenian traditions about Skiron the robber, it is noteworthy that they sought a peaceful resolution to their rivalry. The pious Aiakos, ruler of Aigina, was asked to arbitrate between them, and Nisos was awarded the throne, while Skiron was granted the office of war leader.⁸⁶ And it was in his role as war leader, Plutarch implies, that Skiron met his fate at the hands of Theseus when the latter aggressively invaded Eleusis and took it from the Megarians.

Plutarch's genealogy makes Skiron a grandson of King Pittheus of Troizen and has him married to Chariklo, the daughter of Kychreus of Salamis. In the context of competing Athenian and Megarian mythic traditions, the Salaminian connection is significant. The daughter of Skiron and Chariklo, Endeis, was married to Aiakos, and bore him two sons, Peleus and Telamon. Skiron was therefore great-grandfather to two of the greatest heroes of the Trojan War: Achilles and Salaminian Ajax. It was evidently part of the Megarian argument that Skiron's noble family ties were enough in themselves to demonstrate that he was an upstanding and virtuous man.

The genealogical traditions link Skiron to Theseus, a connection that might actually have been hard to avoid, given the intertwined nature of Athenian and Megarian mythic claims to royal personages and territory. If Skiron was the son of Pylas and son-in-law of Pandion, then he was both Theseus' great-uncle and his uncle by marriage. If, on the other hand, he was considered to be a grandson of Pittheus, then he was Theseus' first cousin.⁸⁷ If Skiron was a son of Pelops, he was Theseus' uncle, and if, finally, he was a son of Poseidon, he could arguably have been Theseus' half-brother. Because the Megarian historians survive only in fragments, we cannot say whether they explicitly castigated Theseus for killing a kinsman when he dispatched Skiron, but it seems likely. It is not hard to imagine that Plutarch's information on Theseus' institution of the Isthmian Games – as

⁸⁶ Paus. 1.39.6: Σκίρωνι δὲ ἡγεμονίαν εἶναι πολέμου. See Piccirilli 1973: 246–249 (no. 6*).

⁸⁷ Ps.-Apollodoros (*Library* 3.15.5) reports a tradition that Aigeus was the illegitimate son of one “Skyrios”, and it has been suggested that this should be amended to “Skiron” (Fowler 2013: 483); that would make Skiron Theseus' grandfather.

expiation for the murder of his kinsman Skiron – ultimately derived from a Megarian source.⁸⁸

Athenian and Megarian disagreements about Skiron extended beyond the question of whether he was a free-ranging bandit or a noble, even royal, war-leader. The Athenian cult of Athena Skiras, both in Attica and on Salamis, the settlement of Skira/Skiron on the borders of Attica and Eleusis, and the place-name Skiras in Salamis were all linked – by the Megarians – to their hero Skiron. Athenian accounts, on the other hand, unwilling to grant a Megarian robber such extensive eponymic power, claimed that a certain ‘Skiros’ was responsible.⁸⁹ He was identified as a seer from Dodona who came to assist the Eleusinians in their war with Erechtheus, founded the sanctuary of Athena Skiras at Phaleron, and was subsequently buried at Skira/Skiron.⁹⁰

Like Pandion and Nisos, then, the figure of Skiron is an important nexus in the complex of legends binding Athens and Megara together. It was obviously important to the Megarians to create a heroic impression of the much-maligned Skiron and a less than heroic impression of the insufferably perfect Theseus.⁹¹ In the Megarian versions, Theseus does not kill Skiron the bandit – no such person exists – but rather Skiron the duly-appointed war-leader and defender of homeland, in an apparently duplicitous attack on Eleusis.⁹² Theseus is moreover responsible for the death of Skiron’s son, Halykos, who fights at the side of the Dioskouroi to rescue Helen from the clutches of her raptor Theseus; Megareus’ son Timalkos is killed by Theseus on the same occasion.⁹³

88 Plut. *Thes.* 25; at the end of the chapter, Plutarch cites both Hellanikos and Andron of Halikarnassos, but it is not clear that he is ascribing this particular detail to them (see Higbie 1997: 281 n. 12).

89 Hdt. 8.94.2; Strab. 9.1.9; Paus. 1.1.4, 1.36.4; Harpokration *Lexicon sv.* Σκίρων = Piccirilli 1975 no. 1, F1; Praxion of Megara *BNJ* 484 F1; see also Piccirilli 1975: no. 6 F*14a. Cf. the scholiast’s remarks on Clement of Alexandria’s *Protreptikos* 2, 17 p. 302, 18–21 (= Piccirilli 1975: no 6. F*14b).

90 There is also Skiros, a mythical king of Salamis (Kearns 1989: 198), whom the Megarians also probably identified with Skiron (see Praxion of Megara *BNJ* 484 F1; Taylor 1997: 49–50 [conflating the names of Skiron and Skiros]; Fowler 2013: 483).

91 Perhaps this also accounts for Megarian claims of connections to Herakles? See Higbie 1997: 281–282.

92 Plut. *Thes.* 10.3. Skiron’s role in defending Eleusis resonates with the Athenian story of the seer “Skiros”, helping Eleusis against Erechtheus; it seems likely that this is one more example of conflation and/or an attempt at differentiation.

93 Plut. *Thes.* 32.6–7 = Hereas of Megara *BNJ* 486 F2 (Piccirilli 1975 no. 3 F2); Paus. 1.41.4–5, 1.42.4.

The story of the abduction of Helen leads to the observation that even the Athenians found it problematic to rescue Theseus' reputation when it came to women. The Megarian historian Hereas challenged Athenian attempts to soften Theseus' abandonment of Ariadne,⁹⁴ and Plutarch's rather shame-faced account of Theseus' *amours* may well reflect Megarian narratives of Theseus raping his way through the Megarid:

There are...other stories also about marriages of Theseus (περὶ γάμων Θησέως) which were neither honorable in their beginnings nor fortunate in their endings... For instance, he is said to have carried off (ἄρπάσαι) Anaxo, a maiden of Troizen, and after slaying Sinis and Kerkyon to have ravished (συγγενέσθαι βίᾳ) their daughters; also to have married (γῆμαι) Periboia, the mother of Ajax, and Phereboia afterwards, and Iope, the daughter of Iphikles; and because of his passion for Aigle, the daughter of Panopeus, as I have already said, he is accused of the desertion of Ariadne, which was not honorable nor even decent; and finally, his rape (ἄρπαγήν) of Helen is said to have filled Attica with war, and to have brought about at last his banishment and death...⁹⁵

Plutarch does not specify that any of these stories were part of a specifically Megarian tradition, but given that Sinis and Kerkyon – other foes of Theseus as he passed from Troizen to Athens – are involved here, and given the general anti-Theseus tone of Megarian historiography, it would not be surprising if at least some of them were. Earlier in his life of Theseus, Plutarch had reported quite a different version of Theseus' 'seduction' of the daughter of Sinis, where the precocious hero promises to treat her honorably: she sleeps with him willingly, and he then finds a husband for her.⁹⁶ This surely would have been the version more in keeping with the Athenian tradition about Theseus.

94 Plut. *Thes.* 20.2 = Hereas of Megara BNJ 486 F1 (Piccirilli 1975 no. 3 F1).

95 Plut. *Thes.* 29. Plutarch is critical of Theseus' behaviour with women, though the latter's feats in this realm probably were intended to establish a heroic masculinity on a par with Herakles'. See Piccirilli 1974: 415–422. The Megarian poet Theognis speaks of love (ἔρως) "destroying great Theseus" (2.1233).

96 Plut. *Thes.* 8.

The Greeks placed a considerable amount of weight on being ‘right’, or perhaps being ‘righteous’, in their interstate interactions, whether mythical or historical (and of course they made far less distinction between those categories than we do). Time and distance did not matter: if travelers through the Megarid were to be continually reminded that they were traversing the ‘Skironian Way’, it suited the Megarians that the eponymous villain be rehabilitated. The fourth-century BCE Megarian historians Praxion and Dieuchidas and Hereas fought against the dominant Athenian canon of the heroic Theseus civilizing the Megarid, as did their anonymous fellow-citizens, no doubt all the way down to Pausanias’ day.⁹⁷ It might be that none of their neighbours would have been convinced – both Plutarch and Pausanias were skeptical – but for the Megarians, this defiant expression of localism was one way of asserting their own distinctive identity against the overwhelming presence of the ‘other’, both pressing on their borders and traveling along their highways.

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⁹⁷ BNJ 484–487.

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Chapter 3

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Megarian Myths: Extrapolating the Narrative Traditions of Megara

Studying the local in the framework of localism is to study the parameters that constrain the lives and thoughts of people who conceive of themselves as belonging to a particular place. I am inspired by Conceptual Metaphor Theory,¹ where the physical structures of the brain that encode sensory-motor experience are recruited by the brain for cognition about all abstract things.² The local experience of individuals in their landscape and culture, much of this dependent on their home territory and mobility, is the source domain for their thinking about everything else, including places and people that are not present, and not part of their locale. The local referents and their dynamics – sensory-motor experience in the first place, but also geography, rituals, stories, institutions, ancestries, cuisine, economic activities, etc. – structure the thinking of those embedded in the locale and constitute an individual's template of cognition.

1 The importance of the local and local experience in Conceptual Metaphor Theory can be seen in the work of Z. Kövecses, e.g. "In many cases the 'same' bodily phenomenon may be interpreted differently in different cultures and that activities of the body (and the body itself) are often 'construed' differentially in terms of local cultural knowledge.[...] And yet, it seems to me reasonable to suggest that the kinds of bodily experience that form the basis of many conceptual metaphors [...] can and do exist independently of any cultural interpretation (be it either conscious or unconscious). They are products of the kinds of physical bodies we have. However, this is not to say that these products of the body cannot be shaped by local cultural knowledge" (2006: 42).

2 Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 255–258.

The embodied local experience of individuals was recognized as important in structuring their worldview long before Conceptual Metaphor Theory was formulated. In Henri Lefebvre's reading of Marx and Engels, social space – the human being's local environment – was “the outcome of past actions” but also “what permits fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others.”³ One's lived environment constrains the possibilities of life. In cognitive experiments earlier in the twentieth century, it was discovered that “virtually everything to which the organism has been exposed” produces an “internalized schema” that systematizes cognitive behaviour.⁴ From several indicators in the cognitive and social sciences over the last 50 years, we maintain that the sensory-motor experience of the local environment is the material from which human cognition is built. Experience of the local is *the* source domain *par excellence*.

This study is an attempt to reconstruct what Hans Beck calls in this volume the “Local Discourse Environment” as it can be extrapolated from cults, sacred sites, and festivals, since these are places of memory, venues for the “dissemination and veneration of local traditions.” There are distinct features of the Megarian worldview or thought-world, and these assist in reconstructing the narrative traditions.

Megarian Duality: *entre deux terres et deux mers*⁵

A list of dualities or binary oppositions could be drawn up for any ancient Greek city, but I argue that the local Megarian worldview was particularly characterized by a duality that is in large part due to its peculiar geography and topography.⁶ There were two pre-Greek founders; Kar was indigenous to Argos, son of the autochthonous first king of Argos, and grandson of the River Inachus; Lelex came from Egypt, was son of Poseidon and Libya, and great-grandson of Zeus and Io.⁷ There are two acropoleis,⁸ a feature not common in

³ Lefebvre 1991: 73.

⁴ Nelson 1969. See also Restle 1961.

⁵ Muller 1984: 250, “Ces particularités de la Mégaride, entre deux terres et deux mers, expliquent la vocation commerçante plutôt qu'agricole de Mégare et l'importance qu'ont prise très tôt les voies de passage de son territoire.”

⁶ Muller 1984: 255.

⁷ Herda 2016: 78–82; Robu 2013–2014: 72; Paus. 1.39.

⁸ Danner 1997: 143; Legon 2004: 464; Paus. 1.40, 42.

Greek poleis but shared, notably, by Argos, whence Kar came to Megara,⁹ and also by Dreros on Crete, Idalion on Cyprus, Melos, and Halikarnassos.¹⁰ The acropoleis, Karia and Alkathoa, at the center of the city, are linked by the agora that stands in the valley between them, and divide the city into northern and southern districts.¹¹ Situated on the Isthmus of Corinth, the territory of Megara has a double opening to the sea,¹² containing ports both to the north on the Corinthian gulf (Pagai, Aigosthena) and to the south on the Saronic gulf (Nisaia). The northern ports link Megara especially to Boiotia, Phokis (Delphi), and, less importantly for the narrative traditions, to points West, and to Attica and the eastern Mediterranean world via the southern port. Hero cults located on the way to Pagai connect Megara to Thebes (Autonoë, Hyllos, Alkmene),¹³ while those at Nisaia (Nisos, Lelex) link it to Athens and Egypt.¹⁴ The main roads for land travel lead to Corinth in the West and to Attica and Boiotia in the East, linking Megara to the two largest regions of mainland Greece, the Peloponnesos and the Balkan Peninsula, containing its most formidable states.¹⁵ East-west positionality is reflected also in cults and tombs, as the tomb of Kar, the Peloponnesian founder of Megara, is located on the coastal route to Corinth (Paus. 1.43).

Megara was involved in overseas settlement both in the West and in the East, with a shift occurring early, around 700 BCE, from activity in Italy to activity in the Black Sea and Propontis.¹⁶ These activities would have magnified a Megarian's sense that their community was oriented towards important and powerful places both to the West and to the East. Megara was a necessary node in both maritime and land-based trade.¹⁷ The main

9 Robu 2013–2014: 72; Paus. 1.39.

10 Argos, s.v. *OEAGR*; Idalion, s.v. *PECS*; Wright 1992: 247. Melos, Cherry and Sparkes 1982: 53–56. Halikarnassos, Penrose 2016: 173.

11 Muller 1984: 252.

12 Muller 1984: 249.

13 The locations of the monuments in Megara mentioned by Pausanias are contested, as few have been identified archaeologically. Here I follow the placements given in Herda 2016: 118 (map by N. Farakias after O. Alexandri 1970: 24–25). For an alternative placement of the monuments, see Muller 1981: 210.

14 Nisos, for whom Nisaia is named, was king of Athens before Aigeus, and became king of Megara. Robu 2013–2014: 71.

15 Muller 1984: 251.

16 Herda 2016: 33, 66; Robu 2013–2014: 76.

17 Legon 2004: 462; Muller 1984: 250.

east-west road, from Corinth to Boiotia and Attica by way of Tripodiskos, and the north-south road connecting the ports, both pass unbroken through the agora.¹⁸

A Megarian's lived experience is conditioned by these dualities, and the resulting ambiguity. All dualities presuppose a third term, and this is the Megarian, who mediates and adjudicates among these competing forces. The various terms of these dualities were not considered equally by those living in Megara. The cults and associated narrative traditions of Megara indicate an orientation towards the north and east, and a general neglect of Corinth, while nevertheless engaging with the Peloponnesos through stories of Argos, Pylos, and the house of Atreus. Mt. Geraneia separates Megara from Corinthian territory to the West, and from a high point in Megara important features of the landscape of Boiotia (Kithairon, Helicon) and Delphi (Parnassos) were visible.¹⁹ The stories associated with Geraneia are not related to Corinth, but rather to the origin of Megara and to Argos. In a foundation story additional to the one involving Kar and then Lelex, the eponymous hero/founder Megaros, child of Zeus and a Sithnid nymph (whose springs provide fresh water to Megara), escaped Deukalion's flood on Mt. Geraneia (Paus. 1.40). Koroibos of Argos gave a name to Tripodiskos, on the slopes of Geraneia, after being ordered by the Pythia to carry a Delphic tripod until it fell, and had his tomb in Megara, adorned by the most ancient Greek sculptures known to Pausanias (Paus. 1.43). The visual environment assisted in the avoidance of Corinth in Megarian myths, and the reason for this avoidance may have been the all-too-powerful influence of Corinth and the Dorians on Megara.²⁰ The Megarians did not hesitate to adopt the mythic traditions of their neighbours, as Peter Funke explained at the Megarian Moments conference, but under conditions of Corinthian and Dorian dominance, especially in the eighth and seventh

¹⁸ See Figure 1; Muller 1984: 252-255.

¹⁹ Legon 1981: 22.

²⁰ "The Megarians succeeded in averting complete absorption by Corinth [in the second half of the eighth and the early seventh centuries], but lost irretrievably a large portion of their domain [west of Geraneia]. Relations between the two states were poisoned for centuries to come" (Legon 1981: 60, see also 63-64). The hostilities with Corinth may have developed a pan-Mediterranean importance if Herda (2016: 61-66) is right that Megara sided with Eretria and Miletus against Chalkis, Corinth, Karystos, and Samos on the losing side of the Lelantine War. For anti-Corinthian hostility in connection with the Lelantine War, see Theognis 890-893: Οἳ μοι ἀναλκίης· ἀπὸ μὲν Κήρινθος ὄλωλεν, / Ἀηλάντου δ' ἀγαθὸν κείρεται οἰνόπεδον· / οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ φεύγουσι, πόλιν δὲ κακοὶ διέπουσιν. / ὥς δὴ Κυψελιδῶν Ζεὺς ὀλέσειε γένος. Although Megara experienced recovery and great wealth in the mid-sixth century, it was forced, with Corinth, into the Peloponnesian League at the end of that century (Legon 2004: 463).

centuries, Megara asserted its identity by dwelling on its mytho-historical relations with Attica and Boiotia.²¹ This forms the most noticeable duality in the local discourse environment found in the narrative traditions; figures from Athens and Thebes are a consistent presence in Megarian myths.²²

Megara in the Middle and the Theme of Vicissitude

Surrounded by these powerful neighbours, vitally aware of threats and opportunities arriving from the four cardinal directions, and bounded in a narrow, only moderately fertile plain between Mt. Geraneia and Mts. Kerata and Pateras on an isthmus belonging to the unpredictable god Poseidon,²³ Megarians could not escape the sense of being *in medias res*. The situation of Megara is not altogether different from the city-states of Syria-Palestine in the Late Bronze Age, with their shifting allegiances²⁴ to the Hittites and Egyptians, situated on the trade routes between Egypt, the Hittites, and Babylonia. The very real vicissitudes of fortune to which Megarians were subject, especially aggression from the Athenians and Corinthians, has left its mark on the local discourse environment.

The poetry of Theognis is imbued with anxiety over and the experience of sudden changes in fortune.²⁵ Concerns about drastic forms of social mobility, violence, and deceit characterize the Theognidean worldview, as Elke Stein-Hölkeskamp pointed out at the Megarian Moments conference, and the Theognidean persona feels beset by different, overpowering forces coming from multiple directions. These concerns are found throughout the Theognidean corpus, but here I limit myself to the work of the Kynos-poet, Theognis.

21 Figueira 1985: 116, 120.

22 A further motivation for this might be sought in Megara's joint colonial ventures with Boiotia (Robu 2013–2014: 66) and Ionian Miletus (Herda 2016: 70–76).

23 Paus. 2.1; See Robu 2013–2014 for the importance of Poseidon at Megara.

24 As the allegiance of Megara frequently shifted in the Classical period between Attica and the Peloponnesos (Legon 2004: 463).

25 Cobb-Stevens 1985. Herda dates Theognis to the mid-sixth century BCE.

One consistent concern of Theognis is that he, his friends, and his city stand at the brink of calamity, with poverty, exile, civil war, and conquest by external forces looming over them.²⁶

‘Κύρνε, κύει πόλις ἥδε, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ τέκηι ἄνδρα (1080-1082b)
ύβριστην, χαλεπῆς ἡγεμόνα στάσιος·
ἄστοι μὲν γὰρ ἔθ’ οἶδε σαόφρονες, ἡγεμόνες δέ (1082a)
τετράφαται πολλὴν εἰς κακότητα πεσεῖν.’

This city’s pregnant, Kyrnos, and I fear she might give birth!
To a despicable man! Vanguard of harsh civil war.
Because, while the townspeople still are sound, the brinksmen
lead us off the edge into a mighty evil.

The city, the individual, and his partisans are prone to destruction and ruination, but not yet done for. A remedy is available – moderation of expectation and comportment²⁷ – requiring one to steer a steady course between competing forces coming from different directions.

‘Ἦσυχος ὥσπερ ἐγὼ μέσσην ὁδὸν ἔρχεο ποσσίν, (330-1)
μηδ’ ἐτέροισι διδούς, Κύρνε, τὰ τῶν ἐτέρων.

Be safe like me and tread the middle path,
and do not give, Kyrnos, the possessions of one to another.

Μηδὲν ἄγαν σπεύδειν· πάντων μέσ’ ἄριστα· καὶ οὕτως, (334-5)
Κύρν’, ἔξεις ἀρετὴν, ἦντε λαβεῖν χαλεπόν.

Don’t try too hard. The middle is best of all. And this way,
Kyrnos, you will have dignity, which is hard to take away.

²⁶ Other poems in the Theognidean corpus sharing this theme are vv. 256-259, 944-947, 1209-1216.

²⁷ Cobb-Stevens 1985: 163.

Part of this posture is an abdication of power politics, a refusal to compete with those who strive for domination, because of the all-too-likely potential loss. This theme of vicissitude, the anticipation of inevitable reversals, was forged in the Megarian locale, which had seen significant losses of territory to Corinth in the second half of the eighth and in the seventh centuries, and to Athens in the late seventh and sixth centuries. Between and among these losses, Megarians experienced an anti-Corinthian, anti-aristocratic, pro-Athenian tyranny in the seventh century and a demagogic democracy in the early sixth.²⁸ Theognis clearly shows awareness of the losses to Corinth and the tyranny but may not refer to the loss of Salamis to Athens for chronological reasons.

Some poems of Theognis presuppose that the calamity has occurred, and Theognis is living with sore disenfranchisement in a ruined city.²⁹

Πάντα τάδ' ἐν κοράκεσσι καὶ ἐν φθόρῳ· οὐδέ τις ἡμῖν (832-5)
αἴτιος ἀθανάτων, Κύρνε, θεῶν μακάρων,
ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν τε βίη καὶ κέρδεα δειλὰ καὶ ὕβρις
πολλῶν ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἐς κακότητ' ἔβαλεν.

All our affairs have gone to ravens and ruin. And we cannot
blame, Kyrnos, the blessed immortal gods,
but violence, wretched greed, and heedlessness
cast us from mighty good into evil.

The power group of Megara's oligarchic constitution has been displaced by those Theognis finds inferior, who must nevertheless be accommodated and feared.

Κύρνε, πόλις μὲν ἔθ' ἦδε πόλις, λαοὶ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι, (52-68)
οἳ πρόσθ' οὔτε δίκας ἤιδεσαν οὔτε νόμους,

28 Legon 2004: 464. Theagenes' first known policy was to sacrifice the cattle of the aristocrats, presumably to distribute the food to the poor, and he was allied to Kylon of Athens by marriage making Kylon Theagenes' son-in-law.

29 Other poems in the Theognidean corpus sharing this theme are vv. 846-849, 619-620, 666-682, 1012-1015.

ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ πλευραῖσι δορὰς αἰγῶν κατέτριβον,
ἔξω δ' ὥστ' ἔλαφοι τῆσδ' ἐνέμοντο πόλεος. (55)

καὶ νῦν εἰς' ἀγαθοί, Πολυπαῖδη· οἱ δὲ πρὶν ἐσθλοὶ
νῦν δειλοί. τίς κεν ταῦτ' ἀνέχοιτ' ἐσορῶν;
ἀλλήλους δ' ἀπατῶσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι γελῶντες,
οὔτε κακῶν γνῶμας εἰδότες οὔτ' ἀγαθῶν.
μηδένα τῶνδε φίλον ποιεῦ, Πολυπαῖδη, ἀστῶν (60)

ἐκ θυμοῦ χρεῖης οὔνεκα μηδεμιῆς·
ἀλλὰ δόκει μὲν πᾶσιν ἀπὸ γλώσσης φίλος εἶναι,
χρῆμα δὲ συμμειξίης μηδενὶ μηδ' ὀτιοῦν
σπουδαῖον· γνῶσθι γὰρ οἰζυρῶν φρένας ἀνδρῶν, (65)
ὥς σφιν ἐπ' ἔργοισιν πίστις ἔπ' οὐδεμία,
ἀλλὰ δόλους ἀπάτας τε πολυπλοκίας τ' ἐφίλησαν
οὔτως ὥς ἄνδρες μηκέτι σωιζόμενοι.

Kyrnos, this city's still a city, but her people are different
who before now heeded not law nor custom,
but wore goat skins round their flanks,
and grazed, like stags, outside this city. (55)
And now they are the noble, Polypaides. And those who before were good
now are wretched. Who, seeing clearly, could have forestalled these things?
They laugh as they prey one on the other,
knowing the marks neither of evil nor of good.
Make none of them your friend, Polypaides, these indwellers, (60)
in your heart, for any reason;
but pretend to be a friend, in speech, to all.
Share your real affairs with none of them ever, therefore,
else you would know the brains of dreary men, (65)
that there is no honesty in their deeds, no honesty at all,
but they love tricks, deception, and schemes
so much that they are men who can not be saved.

Here is advice suited to vicissitude's valleys. The enemy is victorious, Theognis and his friends must change to suit the times, but never change their true selves. The reversal has

come due to the changeable nature of inferior men, always ready to shift allegiances and betray friends for personal advantage,³⁰ turning to one of the poles of geopolitical influence over Megara.

Another part of the posture Theognis adopts is a valorization of the parochial above the foreign, demonstrating one aspect of a Megarian particularism that many contributions to this volume address. Stuck in the middle of destabilizing forces conceived as external to his beloved city, Theognis highlights the importance of local experience.³¹

μήποτε φεύγοντ' ἄνδρα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι, Κύρνε, φιλήσις· (333a-b)
οὐδὲ γὰρ οἴκαδε βᾶς γίνεται αὐτὸς ἔτι.

Do not ever give your trust to an exile, Kyrnos,
since he is not the same as before when he comes home.

For Theognis, the local shapes the man, and since the returned exile now has another local experience shaping his outlook, he may not be constrained by the same standards of behaviour that made him trustworthy before. That non-local experience is a cause for suspicion, since it may be the source of unwanted innovations, and since it may suggest allegiance to those destabilizing outside forces.

Theognis bears witness to a certain aspect of the Megarian worldview; they are *in medias res*, and I mean this in the sense of being positioned in the middle, and also in the literary sense of being part of a story in progress, of which the Megarian was not the sole or primary author. Many of the narrative traditions one can detect in Megara are the result of attempts to appropriate the stories and heroes of Athens, Thebes, and Argos,³² to cause Megara to play a role in those stories and make the stories relevant for Megarians. This is not due to any real chronological priority of those states or their traditions, but because of the great power of Attica, Boiotia, and the Peloponnesos relative to Megara. Alongside

30 Cobb-Stevens 1985: 162.

31 Another poem in the Theognidean corpus that shares this theme is vv. 782-787.

32 Figueira 1985: 116, 120, on Athens; Herda 2016: 89-92 and Nagy 1985: 78, on Thebes; Paus. 1.39; 6.19, on Argos.

these adapted stories are stories indigenous to Megara, which demonstrate Megarian particularism.

Megarian Particularism

Although the work of Theognis and the Theognidean corpus “transcended archaic Megara and its parochial factionalism,” and became a Panhellenic possession, they nevertheless are “the crystallization of archaic and early classical poetic traditions emanating from Megara,”³³ and represent a particular engagement with heroes and gods. The heroes and gods mentioned therein must have local importance, even if their selection by the poets who contributed to the *Theognidea* may have been conditioned by a desire for Panhellenic currency.

The divine and heroic landscape of the *Theognidea* is quite limited. The grouping of Apollo, Artemis, Zeus, and Leto is prominent as is appropriate for Megara, where Apollo is patron god,³⁴ having built the walls as a favour to Alkathous (772-82), and festivals to him give names to four of the months,³⁵ and where Agamemnon is said to have dedicated a sanctuary to Artemis.³⁶ Pythian Apollo was the Megarians’ oracular god, and he appears in this role in the *Theognidea*.³⁷ Apollo and the Muses feature prominently as patrons of the poets’ vocation.³⁸

Zeus appears throughout especially because of the poets’ concern for justice,³⁹ and because Zeus is a god of reversals, who gives both success and misfortune.⁴⁰ He is a god of politics

33 Cobb-Stevens, Figueira, and Nagy 1985: 1-2.

34 vv. 1-13, 119-122. Legon 2004: 465; Herda 2016: 27-28; But, see also Robu in this volume and 2013-2014: 76, for the importance of Poseidon alongside Apollo.

35 Herda 2016: 27.

36 *Theognidea* vv. 10-11; Paus. 1.43.

37 Herda 2016: 27-29, on Apollo Pythios; Theog. vv. 804-809.

38 vv. 14-17, 249-252, 759-764, 768-771.

39 vv. 282-287, 336-339, 372-381, 730-752, 850-853.

40 vv. 229-231, 585-590 (θεός for Zeus), 890-893.

(800–803) and pederasty (1344–9). He is also, with Apollo, a protector of Megara (756–8), and had a sanctuary in the city.⁴¹

Next in prominence is Hades and denizens of the underworld. Hades is mentioned by name seven times in the first book of *Theognidea*,⁴² and never in the second, which is devoted to love poetry. This frequency is worth noting, as it is consistent with the dire nature of the poetic persona's concerns, and with the existential nature of the threats he perceives. Most of these are simple references to death in the phrase Ἄϊδου δῶμα,⁴³ a motif that also explains the frequent references to other underworld characters and places, including Persephone.⁴⁴ The presence of Hades and Persephone may be especially appropriate to Megara because of its connections to the cult of Demeter and to the story of the abduction of Persephone. The first founder of Megara built the megaron to Demeter on the Karia acropolis (Paus. 1.40), on the easterly side of the nascent community, in the direction of Eleusis and Athens. Pausanias tells us that Demeter wandered through Megara while she was searching for Persephone (Paus. 1.43), and the Megarians were persistent in their claim on Eleusis.⁴⁵ Demeter herself does not appear in the *Theognidea*. Two references to Helios (996, 1182–3, a chief god of Corinth), single references to Dionysos (975) and Boreas (716), and eleven references to Aphrodite and/or Eros in the book of love poems complete the Theognidean pantheon.

Of the heroes who appear in the poems, some are distinctly Megarian and characteristic of the Megarian discourse environment, and some are Panhellenic. Alkathous, a Megarian founder-hero who built the city's walls with the assistance of Apollo and founded the second acropolis, is part of Megara's engagement with the Peloponnesos (but not with Corinth) and the Pelopids (house of Atreus), since he is a son of Pelops.⁴⁶ The poem is a

41 Paus. 1.40 for the sanctuary of Zeus. The sanctuary of Apollo Pythios, the Pythion, was located on the acropolis of Alkathous (Paus. 1.42), and the temple to Apollo Agraios and Artemis Agrotera founded by Alkathous is located on the way out of town towards Tripodiskos and the Peloponnesos, whence Alkathous came to Megara.

42 vv. 243, 702, 725, 905, 917, 1013, 1123.

43 With the accusative sometimes elided and with four options for the genitive, responding, in part, to metrical considerations: Ἄϊδου (Attic, e.g. 1013), Ἄϊδεω (epic form, e.g. 1123), Ἄϊδαο (epic form, e.g. 243), Ἄϊδος (Doric, e.g. 917).

44 vv. 703, 973, and 1295 (book 2).

45 Figueira 1985: 120.

46 vv. 772–782; Paus. 1.42; Robu 2013–2014: 72.

Theognidean plea to Apollo to protect Megara from the Persians, just as he had helped Alkathous.

Myths of Thebes are central and prominent in Megarian narrative traditions,⁴⁷ and it is fitting that Kadmos appears early in the *Theognidea* (14). One of Megara's early kings, Megareus, son of Poseidon, came to Megara from Onchestos in Boiotia (Paus. 1.39). The Megarians laid claim to Ino, daughter of Kadmos, and her apotheosis into Leukothea. They say she threw herself and her son Melikertes into the sea on the coastal road from Megara to Corinth and emerged from the sea as a goddess first at Megara (Paus. 1.42-3). The importance of Leukothea at Megara, where there was a *herōon* for Ino in the agora and an annual festival, lies behind the enigmatic reference to a corpse calling the poet home (1229-30).⁴⁸ Another daughter of Kadmos died in Megarian territory; Autonoë had her tomb in the village of Ereneia (Paus. 1.43). In the agora is also a tomb for Adrastos, who died in Megara after defeating Thebes (Paus. 1.43). The local traditions of Megara insinuate the city into the foundation story and greatest epic adventures of the Thebans.

Athens, too, is an important concern of Megarian narrative traditions, and there was contestation over the myth of Theseus, as there was over ownership of Salamis and the cult of Demeter at Eleusis.⁴⁹ Theseus appears in the love poems (1231-33), among Ilium and Oilean Ajax (not the Megarian), as one who was destroyed by love. Theseus is also present in the local traditions of Megara through the tomb of Hippolyta (Paus. 1.41) and stories of Skiros.⁵⁰ When Megareus, son of Poseidon, was king of Megara, Theseus, son of Poseidon, was king of Athens, and Megara had a relationship of dependence on Athens (Paus. 1.42). Athens more generally is present in the Megarian discourse environment through the shrine of Pandion of Athens, and through the stories of Kings Pylas and Nisos (Paus. 1.39).

The Panhellenic features of the *Theognidea* have a distinctly Megarian aspect insofar as they relate to the house of Atreus. While a reference to Agamemnon (10-13) is not out of place in the local traditions of any Greek city, this family provided to Megara the King Alkathous, brother of Atreus, in the generation before the Trojan War, and the King

47 Herda 2016: 89-92; Nagy 1985: 78.

48 Nagy 1985: 78-81.

49 Figueira 1985: 116, §7 n.1 (Theseus), 120 (Salamis and Eleusis).

50 Apollod. *Epitome* 1.2-3.

Hyperion, son of Agamemnon, in the generation after it. Stories of Hyperion, last king of Megara before the oligarchic constitution (Paus. 1.43), are a local reflex of the Panhellenic narrative tradition devoted to nostoi and epigones. Theognis' reference to Agamemnon is in connection with Artemis, and Megarian tradition had it that Agamemnon dedicated a sanctuary when he stopped at Megara on the way to Troy (Paus. 1.43). This reference is parallel to his reference to Alkathous in connection with Apollo (772-82), since both heroes are invoked as evidence of previous divine beneficence in a plea for renewed aid. A reference to Nestor (713-16) might recall the Megarian tradition that their exiled King Pylas founded Pylos.⁵¹ Other Panhellenic characters invoked by Theognidean poets, such as the Centaurs (542), Odysseus (1122-7, 1209-16), Oilean Ajax (1231-2), the Dioskouroi (1086-9), and Rhadamanthys (698-717), lack the local significance of Atreids. The extended reference to Sisyphus in the same poem (698-717) stands out as one of the few references to Corinth in the narrative traditions of Megara.

Here we have seen how the *Theognidea* engages both with the local discourse environment of Megara and with Panhellenic tradition. Megarian particularism is found also in the god Apollo Karinos, who appears only in Megara, and whose great antiquity and specificity to Megara is suggested by his association with the first founder Kar, and confirmed by his aniconic pyramidal cult statue (Paus. 1.44), located in the old *gymnasion* on the way out of town by the Gate of the [Sithnid] Nymphs,⁵² towards Nisaia.

The tomb of Kar, on the less traveled, coastal, Skironian Way towards the Peloponnesos, is decorated with a fossiliferous stone (lacustrine limestone) found only in Megara,⁵³ a part of the maritime environment incorporated into the local material culture. As a final note on what is unique to Megara, the presence of good land for pasturing caprids combined with the agricultural poverty of the Megaris led to an agriculture and cuisine characterized by the cultivation of cabbage, onions, and garlic,⁵⁴ but with high-quality wool and unique textile products as cash crops.

51 Apollod. *Lib.* 3.15.5; Herda 2016: 84.

52 Paus. 1.44; Larson 2001: 146; Herda 2016: 85.

53 Paus. 1.44; Herda 2016: 79. All limestone, which is very common in the Greek landscape, coastal and inland, is a geological consequence of shellfish.

54 Zenob. 5.8.

Megarian Myths

I have attempted to incorporate my observations on localism, Megarian duality, vicissitude, and Megarian particularism into the following reconstruction of the narrative traditions of Megara from the beginning of time into the historical period of the eighth and seventh centuries.

The first man of Megara, Kar, was son of the autochthonous first man of Argos, Phoroneus. Phoroneus was son of the River Inachus and the Oceanid Melia.⁵⁵ Inachus himself was son of the Titans Oceanus and Tethys, as part of the sexual generation of the earth's geography.⁵⁶ A human grandchild of Titans, he should be associated with primordial humans Deukalion and Pyrrha, and, while it may be incorrect to associate these stories with the metallic ages of man, he may be associated with the Bronze Age, after Zeus had become king of the universe. A Megarian man, the eponymous Megaros, survived Deukalion's flood by fleeing to Mt. Geraneia. He was a son of Zeus and a nymph of the Sithnid springs of Megara, the city's source of fresh water.

Kar founded the eastern acropolis of Megara and the cult and temple (megaron) of Demeter there. He became the forefather of the people of the land, the Karians, who, as the Pelasgians and the Lelegians, were Prehellenic inhabitants.⁵⁷ The Isthmus of Corinth and the Megaris, but not Corinth or Athens, for which he also competed,⁵⁸ were possessions of Poseidon, and two scions of Poseidon, Lelex and Megareus, would serve as kings of Megara.⁵⁹ Two further sons of Poseidon, Sinis and Kerkyon, were malefactors in the neighbourhood of Megara, in the time of Megareus and Theseus. If we take seriously Apollodoros' claim (*Lib.* 3.14.1) that there was a particular period in mytho-historical time that the gods bid for patronage over cities, Poseidon's possession of the Megaris is contemporary with his bid for Athens in the time of its first king, Kekrops.

55 The story of Phoroneus was told in the lost archaic epic called the *Phoronis*, and this early history is found in the sixth century Attidographer Akousilaos.

56 Apollod. *Lib.* 2.1; Inachus is left off the list of Rivers in Hes. *Th.* 337-345.

57 Herda 2016: 78-82.

58 Paus. 2.1.6; Apollod. *Lib.* 3.14.1.

59 Robu 2013-2014: 72.

Inachus was father also to Io, princess and priestess of Hera at Argos. Events related to Io, Zeus' lust for her, and the resulting progeny will occupy the eleven generations of local Megarian mythistorical time after Kar. In this time also Tereus, son of the Athenian King Pandion, died in Megara after committing suicide for his crimes against Prokne and Philomela (Paus. 1.41). Zeus' initial pursuit of Io leads to her wandering the earth as a cow being punished by Hera. Zeus reunites with her in Egypt, and fathers Epaphos. Epaphos fathers Libya, who mates with Poseidon, and gives birth to Lelex, Belos, and Agenor. Lelex comes to Megara from Egypt, very likely founds the port at Nisaia by disembarking there, and almost certainly founds the cult of Poseidon and the Poseidonion at Nisaia,⁶⁰ making Demeter and Poseidon the divine couple that oversaw Megara in the primordial age. Lelex becomes the forefather of the people of Megara, henceforth called Leleges. His son, Kleson, succeeds him to the throne, in the generation of Kadmos and Europa. In the generation after Kleson, the Danaids will return to Argos from Egypt, establishing the first Hellenic population, the Danaans.

It is in association with the generation after Kleson, and after Kadmos, that the mythology of Thebes appears in Megara. Kleso and Tauropolis, daughters of Kleson, are the discoverers of Ino, whose corpse washed ashore at Megara after she threw herself into the sea along the Skironian Way.⁶¹ The Megarians witnessed her apotheosis as the White Goddess and were the first to worship her, in the same generation as Dionysos reached manhood and spread his cult in Greece. The Megarians had a sanctuary to him (Paus. 1.43.5) and to Ino/Leukothea (Paus. 1.42.7) in the agora, and another daughter of Kadmos, Autonoe, had her tomb in Ereneia (Paus. 1.43). The saga of Dionysos in Thebes and its aftermath thereby gains currency in the local discourse environment of Megara.

The next three kings following Kleson link Megara to Athens. Pylas, son of Kleson, succeeded him to the throne of Megara, and received Pandion, King of Athens, as a refugee when he was forced off the throne by the sons of Metion. Pylas gave his daughter Pylia to Pandion in marriage, and, when Pylas was forced into exile for killing his uncle Bias, Pandion succeeded him to the throne. Pylas went to the Peloponnesos and founded

⁶⁰ Thuc. 4.118.4; Robu 2013–2014: 71.

⁶¹ Paus. 1.42–43; Zenob. 4.38.

Pylos in Messenia.⁶² The tomb of Pandion is located West of the Alkathoa acropolis of Megara.

Pandion fathered four sons, three of which, Aigeus, Pallas, and Lykos, returned to Athens to reclaim the throne, while Nisos remained in Megara and ruled. Pausanias is aware of a significant rupture between the local narrative traditions of Megara and Athens at this point in mythistorical time. Skiron, a criminal in the Athenian stories of Theseus, was a son of Pylas who, marrying a daughter of Pandion, contested the throne of Nisos, while Aiakos decided the dispute in favour of Nisos and gave the role of military commander to Skiron. Little else of note occurred in the reign of Nisos according to the Megarians, but the Athenians record a war with Minos in the reign of Nisos, and a major loss to him. We can observe that the story of a great Cretan victory over Attica, and the subsequent myths of Theseus and the Minotaur, are Athenian, and not part of the local traditions of Megara.

Following the generation in which the brothers Nisos and Aigeus reigned in Megara and Athens respectively, Megareus, the son of Poseidon, arrived in Megara from Onchestos in Boiotia, and married the daughter of Nisos, Iphinoë. This generation in the Megarian traditions shows renewed concern with Thebes, and contestation over the stories of Megareus and the Kithaironian lion. In the Megarian stories, the arrival of Megareus is completely unconnected with any attack of Minos, but the Boiotians say Megareus came to assist Nisos in repelling Minos, and we may detect in the Boiotian story an attempt to appropriate Megara, successful insofar as the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* records Nisa (Nisaia) as a Boiotian territory (*Il.* 2.508). This son of Poseidon Megareus inherited the throne of Megara in the same generation as Theseus, son of Poseidon, inherited the throne of Athens. Some stories of Theseus were contested by the Megarians; Skiron was no criminal according to them; Hippolyta fled the Amazonian defeat at the hands of Theseus to Megara; and Megareus' son Timalkos was killed by Theseus in a conflict between Theseus and the Dioskouroi. His tomb was made into the *bouleutērion* of Megara (Paus. 1.42), and the tomb of Megareus' other son Euippos became the *Aisymnion* (town hall), which would come to contain also the shrine of Aisymnos, the eponymous founder of the oligarchic government.⁶³

⁶² Herda 2016: 84.

⁶³ Paus. 1.43; Herda 2016: 55–56.

The Kithaironian lion killed Euippos, son of Megareus, and the king offered the kingship to whomever could slay the beast. Alkathous, son of Pelops, did the deed in the generation before the Trojan War, when Telamon came to Salamis, and his brother Peleus sailed on the Argo, and Alkathous' brother Atreus ruled at Mycenae. Alkathous brought the cults of Apollo and Artemis to Megara (Paus. 1.41.3–4), establishing Apollo as the main god of the city. Apollo would assist Alkathous in building the wall of Megara, and Alkathous fortified the second, western acropolis. This acropolis, the Alkathoa, is on the western side of Megara, physically tying it to the Peloponnesos, whence Alkathous came to Megara. This positionality is emphasized by the location of the temple of Apollo Agraios and Artemis Agrotera founded by Alkathous, located on the way out of town towards Tripodiskos and the Peloponnesos. The tomb of Kallipolis, son of Alkathous, who was killed by his father for perceived impiety towards Apollo, is located on the Alkathoa. Alkathous' other son Ischepolis is honoured as a hero in the *Aisymnion* (Paus. 1.43). Beside the *Aisymnion*, on the Alkathoa side of the agora, was the records office, which had originally been the *herōon* of Alkathous. Tombs of Alkathous' wife Pyrgo and his daughter Iphinoë stood between the *Aisymnion* and the records office. The brides-to-be of Megara sacrifice a lock of their hair to Iphinoë, since she died unmarried (Paus. 1.43).

The local traditions of Megara were engaged with the traditions of Thebes in the generation before the Trojan War, a generation that saw both the greatest saga of that city, the war between the sons of Oedipus, and the first Panhellenic sagas. Telamon went with Herakles to make war on Troy in this generation, fathered his son Teukros with a daughter of Laomedon, and went with Jason and his brother Peleus on the Argo. After Polyneices and his Argive army defeated Eteocles at Thebes, Adrastus of Argos, whose horse Arion was child of Poseidon and Demeter, comes to Megara and lives out his days there.⁶⁴

Telamon, who had migrated from Aigina to Salamis, married a daughter of Alkathous and fathered Ajax, who succeeded Alkathous to the throne of Megara. A Megarian had every reason to be satisfied with the representation of their city in the Homeric poems, in a way that an Athenian could not be, and the Athenians consistently attempted to annex the character of Ajax as their own. The community went under the name Nisa in the

64 Paus. 1.43; Deinias, *FGrH* 485 F3.

Catalogue of Ships (2.508),⁶⁵ and the character Ajax linked Megara with Salamis (2.558), however specious the Homeric line.⁶⁶ Kalchas, the prophet of the Achaian army and prophet of Apollo, was Megarian, and was retrieved by Agamemnon before the Trojan War (Paus. 1.43.1), when the King of Mycenae dedicated a sanctuary to Artemis in Megara. The Megarians claimed that Iphigenia died in Megara, not elsewhere. Ajax, King of Megara, cousin of the protagonist Achilles, was in the first tier of warriors with him and Diomedes. Ajax features prominently in the *Iliad*, as the largest of the Achaian warriors. Specifically, he plays important roles in the Teichoscopia (*Il.* 3), the Duel of Hector and Ajax (*Il.* 7), the Embassy to Achilles (*Il.* 9), the Battle at the Wall (*Il.* 12), the Battle at the Ships (*Il.* 13), and the Aristeia of Menelaus (*Il.* 17), which includes the battle over Patroclus' corpse. That he has an ignominious death by suicide, after contesting unsuccessfully for the divine armour of Achilles, hardly fails to recommend him as a source of pride for the Megarians; only Diomedes, Nestor, and Menelaus can be said to be able to enjoy their Trojan War victory. Teukros, Ajax's brother, returns to Salamis without him and is banished by Telamon, eventually founding Salamis on Cyprus, and being forefather to the Teukrians. In this generation, the sons of Herakles make their first doomed attempt on the Peloponnesos, and local Megarian tradition engages with this story by saying that Alkmene died at Megara on her way from Argos to Thebes, and that Hyllos died on the border of Megara and Corinth in a duel with Arkadian Echemus, and had a hero cult at Megara (Paus. 1.41).

In the generation after the Trojan War, Hyperion was King at Megara, a son of Agamemnon hardly mentioned in non-Megarian narrative traditions. In this generation the sons of Herakles made another unsuccessful attempt on the Peloponnesos, Orestes avenged his father's murder, and Neoptolemus took up his father's mantle as conquering warrior and adventurer. Hyperion was the last king of Megara, and after his death, the eponymous hero Aisymnos sought an oracle from Delphi about the government of Megara, and it evolved into an oligarchy under the powerful rule of magistrates called

⁶⁵ As a territory of Boiotia, see Herda 2016: 83.

⁶⁶ A deliberate Solonian interpolation in Plut. *Solon* 10. Strabo (9.1.10) reports that the Megarians interpolated a line to explicitly link Salamis to Nisaia and other Megarian villages in order to counter the Athenian claim.

aisumnatai (Paus. 1.43.3). The *aisumnion*, or council chamber, housed the tombs of the heroes Euippos and Aisymnos.⁶⁷

The narrative traditions of Megara enter the historical period at this point. Orsippos was a Megarian warrior and Olympic victor (720 BCE), who inaugurated the practice of competing in the nude, and was honoured by a tomb in Megara (Paus. 1.43). Concerns about the aggressions of Corinth, Athens, and Sparta are dominant in this period, and the Megarians honour an ample pantheon of gods led by Apollo, and including Demeter, Poseidon, Artemis, Zeus, Athena, Aphrodite, Dionysos, Leukothea, Night, the Muses, and the Eileithyiai. Theagenes was tyrant in the second half of the seventh century, and he founded a fountain in the agora and an altar to the water god Acheloos near the River Tripodiskos, in honour of his redirecting a stream for the use of Megarians.

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⁶⁷ Herda 2016: 55, 60.

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Chapter 4

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With and Without You: Megara's Harbours

The main question that will be addressed in this article is whether and how the harbour towns of the Megarid constituted local places in their own right. Exploring the entangled history of the polis Megara and its ports, this paper also points to the complexities behind scholarly approximations to the local horizon of an ancient Greek city-state.

Population Figures and Territory Sizes

The estimated population of Megara in the fifth century was c. 40,000.¹ In some calculations this figure includes a high number of slaves, c. 15,000 (cf. Plut. *Demetr.* 9).² In the Hellenistic period, the number appears to have been significantly smaller. We note that, while 3,000 Megarian hoplites had fought at Plataia in 479 BCE, in 279 BCE, Megara only sent 400 hoplites to Thermopylai to face the Galatian Invasion.³ This reduction might have been due, in part, to the secession of Pagai and Aigosthena. The epigraphic evidence from Aigosthena, discussed above, informs the estimation of population figures there, at least in the third century BCE. According to Beloch, the

1 Legon 1981: 23, based on estimations of agricultural capacities.

2 Legon 2005: 463.

3 Paus. 10.20.4; cf. Legon 1981: 301, who doubts that this was the full contingent. Plataia: Hdt. 9.28.

ephebic lists represented about 4% of the entire hoplite force, which would come to about 900 citizens.⁴

Megaris, as a whole, may have been about 700 km² in its earliest periods, before they lost parts to Corinth and Athens. The territory was henceforth reduced to about 470 km² in the Archaic and Classical periods (c. 1/5 the size of Attica).⁵ The estimated size of the arable land during Classical and Hellenistic times, with about 1/5 of the total territory, was c. 94 km². The size of the territory of Aigosthena and Pagai after 243 BCE is even more difficult to measure. *The Copenhagen Polis Centre* has assigned them a territory of about 25 km² each.⁶

Megaris and its Maritime Background

Geographically, Megara was favoured by its location at various crossroads. On land, the main travel artery connecting the Peloponnese to Attica and Central Greece ran through the Megarid.⁷ From a maritime perspective, the city had an excellent position for the pursuit of commerce, having two relatively long coastlines with access to both the Corinthian and the Saronic Gulf. Along the coast there are a number of bays, which were ideal in ancient times for the installation of ports. These harbours were crucial hubs in trans-Mediterranean trade.⁸

Megara was an active metropolis in its own right and a significant player in Greek colonization during the eighth to sixth centuries BCE. Megarians founded new overseas settlements and co-sponsored later foundations with their colonies.⁹ Megara Hyblaia was one of the earliest Sicilian colonies founded around 750 BCE (Thuc. 6.2.2; Strab. 5.270–282). Later, Megara concentrated its colonizing activities in the Hellespont and Black Sea

4 Beloch 1906: 55–56.

5 Beloch 1922: 275.

6 Legon 2005.

7 Trever 1925: 115–132.

8 Legon 2005: 463.

9 Antonetti 1997: 83–94.

regions.¹⁰ In all cases, Megara utilized its extensive naval experience and shipping capacity to plan and organize these colonial projects.

Megarian naval power is attested to as early as 600 BCE, or perhaps even earlier, when the Megarians were engaged in a naval battle with Samos (Plut. *Mor.* 57). Moreover, Megara provided twenty triremes for the Greek fleet at Artemision (Hdt. 8.1.1) and at Salamis (Hdt. 8.45). Other examples show that in 435 BCE, at Leukimme, Megara provided 8 ships for the allied fleet (Thuc. 1.29–30),¹¹ and that in 433 BCE, Megara provided 12 ships for the Corinthian fleet that fought against Korkyra at the Sybota Islands (Thuc. 1.46.1). In the ship sheds at Nisaia, in the fifth century, there was room to store more than 40 triremes. After the Sicilian expedition in the Peloponnesian War, the Spartans ordered the member cities of the Peloponnesian League to build 100 ships, 10 of which were requested from Megara (Thuc. 8.3.2).

This important maritime background may have overburdened certain conditions that characterize daily life in the Megaris: Megaris was a mountainous region, and there were only a few sizeable coastal plains with fertile soils that could be used for agriculture.¹² It was not, however, the geographic conditions that made the history of Megara very difficult, but rather the fact that the Megarians always had to deal with the main issue of conflict with their larger neighbouring cities, Athens and Corinth. Their conflicts were notably about the extent and quality of their respective maritime activities.¹³

In the Archaic period, the Megarid seemed to extend more towards the western direction, perhaps even including parts of the Perachora peninsula with its well-known Sanctuary of Hera.¹⁴ Subsequently, the Corinthians occupied most of this territory and integrated it in

10 Hanell 1934; Vinogradov 1998: 131–152; Smith 2006: 54–59; Vinogradov 2007: 465–474; Robu 2012: 181–195.

11 Legon 1981: 207.

12 Antonetti 1994: 539–551.

13 Figueira 1985: 261–264. For early Megarian occupation of Perachora and a Corinthian subordination of Megara, cf. Figueira 1985: 265–267. For a possible role of Orsippos (Paus. 1.44) in this process, Figueira 1985: 271–272.

14 See the discussion by Hammond 1954: 93–102; Salmon 1972: 159–204; Piccirilli 1975: 6–8; Smith 2008: 97.

their state. We hear about serious border-conflicts between Corinth and Megara in the sixth century, which also apparently involved other neighbours, like Argos.¹⁵

In the same period, Megara, possibly under the tyrant Theagenes, was able to gain control over Salamis, and forced the Athenian inhabitants there to flee to Attica.¹⁶ The maritime operation against Athens was initially successful. Later, however, the Athenians were again engaged in a war with the Megarians, their “first enemy,”¹⁷ and after a Spartan arbitration, the Athenians were able to regain control of Salamis.¹⁸ Herodotus tells us that it was Peisistratos who finally secured Salamis for Athens.¹⁹

There was, already in antiquity, a long discussion about the relationship between Athens and Megara, and the early status of Salamis, as illustrated in regional myths.²⁰ The two main mythological figures,²¹ Skiron and Theseus, are discussed in the early epics of Homer and Hesiod.²² Strabo (9.1.10) reports that there was debate about passages in the so-called *Catalogue of Ships* concerning Salamis (Hom. *Il.* 2.556 and 558). The Megarian local historians interpolated an entry linking the island of Salamis with Nisaia and other places, all within Megarian territory, under Ajax's command, in order to make use of Ionian or pre-Dorian antiquity for their claim to Salamis. Solon was accused by some Megarians of having inserted a verse into the *Iliad* of Homer to show that Salamis already belonged to Athens during Homeric times.²³ Strabo (9.1.10) additionally mentioned a dispute between those who connected the interpolation with Solon and those who connected it with Peisistratos.

15 Figueira 1985: 292–293.

16 Piccirilli 1978: 1–13.

17 Dem. 19.252; Plut. *Sol.* 8; Diog. Laert. 1.46; Justin 2.7, Polyaeus 1.20; Cicero *De Off.* 1.30, 108 and Taylor 1997: 21–47.

18 Plut. *Sol.* 12.5; Hdt. 1.59; Strab. 9.1.10; Aelian *VH* 7.19; see Higbie 1997: 279–308, 284–287.

19 Hdt. 1.59.4.

20 Bohringer 1980: 5–22; Wickersham 1991: 17–31; Piccirilli 1974: 387–422.

21 According to Strabo there was also a dispute between Athens and Megara about the burial customs in both poleis. See Paus. 1.43.3 with Muller 1981: 218–222 and 1983: 619–628.

22 Hereas (*BNJ* 486) implies that Peisistratos manipulated the works of Hesiod and Homer to make the Athenian hero Theseus more popular; cf. also Plut. *Theseus* 25.4; Philochoros *BNJ* 328 F107. For the author: Piccirilli 1974: 387–422.

23 Plut. *Sol.* 10; Deieuchidas *FGrH* 485 F5–6, 486 F4; Prakken 1941: 348–351 and 1944: 122–123; Davison 1959: 217; Graziosi 2002: 249–250.

In the Archaic and Classical periods, Megara was a wealthy naval power with a well-established sphere of maritime influence – including extensive trading networks – and was able to compete with Athens and Corinth. In the fifth century, however, the infamous Megarian Decree excluded the Megarians from all ports of the Athenian Empire and prohibited Megarian trade with Attica (Thuc. 1.139.1). The date of the decree and its importance for the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War is still controversial and much debated.²⁴ Yet the whole affair clarifies how important maritime communication and trade was for Megara and how much the Megarian economy was affected by the boycott. Megara was also a key point in Athenian strategy during the Archidamian War.²⁵ All this pressure from outside was paralleled in Megara by civil war-like phenomena, along with refugees contributing their part to the destabilization of Megara. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War in 431 BCE, the Athenians invaded Megaris with their full force and devastated large parts of the country (Thuc. 2.31). Thucydides emphasized that such an incident happened each subsequent year until 424 BCE, when the important Megarian harbour of Nisaia fell into Athenian hands.

In the fourth century the strong maritime image of Megara changed. A passage in the speech of Isocrates on *Peace* (8.117) is paradigmatic for this. He remarks that there was something special with regard to the economic conditions in the Megarid. Isocrates says that the Megarians had the largest estates of all the Greeks, although generally only small and insignificant resources were at their disposal. They had no land, no harbours and no silver mines, so they had to cultivate rocky terrain.²⁶

Some ancient testimonia²⁷ indicate that the soil in the Megarid was poor and the amount of arable land was limited.²⁸ The Megarians were, however, able to manage their own affairs free from foreign influence. Despite their difficult position between the Corinthians,

24 For the Megarian Psephisma (Thuc. 1.67.4; 1.39.1; 1.44.2; Plut. *Per.* 29.4) see Ste. Croix 1972: 225–289, 381–399; Legon 1981: 200–227; Gauthier 1975: 498–503. Thucydides (4.66) comments in detail on the difficult situation in Megara in the time of the Archidamian War; cf. Legon 1968: 211–231 and 1973: 161–171; Zahrt 2010: 593–624.

25 Florence 2003: 37–58.

26 Isocr. 8.117.

27 Theophr. *Hist. plant.* 2.8.1; Strab. 9.1.8; Isocr. 8.117; Paus. 1.40.1.

28 Around 300 BCE cereals from Cyrene were sent, among other goods, to Megara, Argos, Larissa, Rhodes and Sikyon with a total value of 30.000 medimnoi; cf. Bresson 2000: 135–138; Laronde 1987; Kingsley 1986: 165–177.

Boiotians, and Athenians, they now always enjoyed peace. For Isocrates, Megara was a positive example of a city whose population lives a comfortable, prosperous and self-determined life in peace with their neighbours. What is really striking in this statement is that, in his opinion, Megara did not have any harbour in the fourth century, which is probably an exaggeration. After 300 BCE, Megara used bronze coins with a prow of a trireme on the obverse and two dolphins swimming in the circle on the reverse, clearly indicating the continuation of a strong maritime tradition.²⁹

For Isocrates, Megara is also a good example of a city that could be counted among the wealthy poleis in Greece because of their special attitude³⁰ and their neutral position in politics.³¹ Despite its very limited territory, and its poor, stony soil, it seems that the Megarians made the best out of their situation. Megara exported vegetables (Athen. 7.13; 1.49) and fostered strong wool production in the mountain pastures.³² Consequently, Megara was well known for its exports of woollen garments; Xenophon notes the economic importance of the Megarian textile industry, which included highly specialized ladies' outerwear³³ that were exported to Athens and elsewhere (*Mem.* 2.7.5-12).³⁴

Nisaia

Nisaia is the only attested Megarian harbour on the Saronic Gulf, and is closely associated with the island, or promontory, of Minoa (Thuc. 3.51; see also Paus. 1.44.5), identifiable by a mediaeval fortification called Palaiokastro.³⁵ In antiquity, Minoa was connected to the

29 Some scholars identify this icon with the bronze beak as a part of a trireme captured by Megara in a battle against Athens near Nisaia, which was preserved in the Olympieion at Megara (Paus. 1.40.4).

30 Smith 2008.

31 Robu 2014a: 100-102.

32 According to Lohmann, the rocky hinterland of Megaris was important for the economic situation there. There was no giant fortress in Megara in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. Most of the alleged defenses appear to have been tower farms or round buildings, mainly used by shepherds, see Lohmann 2002: 75; van de Maele 1992: 93-96.

33 Betalli 1982: 261-278, with the literary and epigraphic (especially *IG* II² 1553-1578 and 1672-1673) evidence for textile production in Megara.

34 Lohmann 1997: 63-88.

35 Three proxeny decrees from Megara were discovered on one stone in the ruins of Palaiokastro, Heath 1912-1913, no. 1-3; see Legon 1981: 67. The inscription announces that these should be set in the Olympieion.

mainland by a bridge (Strab. 9.1.4). The exact position of Nisaia and Minoa and their topographical relationship to each other is still debated because no island in this region fits with Thucydides' description of the coast.³⁶ In my opinion, a final solution is not attainable, especially because the natural conditions near the coast may have changed over the course of time.

Nisa was regarded in antiquity as an earlier name for Megara,³⁷ and Nisos, son of Pandion, was the eponymous founder of Nisaia in one of the traditions (Hellanikos *FGrH* 4 F78).³⁸ Local Athenian historians came to the consensus that Aigeus and Nisos can be counted as sons of Pandion, and that "once Attica had been divided into four parts, Nisos got Megaris as his lot and founded Nisaia" (Strab. 9.1.5). Later, Minos waged war against Nisos and his ally and step-son Megareus (Hellanikos *FGrH* 4 F75). Alongside this Athenian-oriented tradition, others believed that Megara was founded by the Boiotians, and that Megareus, the eponymous founder of Megara, came from Onchestos in Boiotia (Paus. 1.39.5. Apollod. 3.15.8). Centuries later, emigrant Megarians in Kyzikos were described by Apollonios Rhodios as Nisaians (Apoll. Rhod. 2.747, 847).

Some of these stories and myths are part of strategies to support the Athenian claim on Megara and its territory because it had once been part of Attica. On the other hand, the Megarians referred to the Homeric *Iliad*, in particular to the *Catalogue of Ships*, in order to prove that they had a pre-Dorian history. Within this controversy, we additionally find reflections concerning a Boiotian influence on the early history of Megara. We will see that the Megarian settlements on the Corinthian Gulf were closely connected to their Boiotian neighbours as a quite decisive counterpart to the city of Megara.³⁹

Nisaia was always in a difficult position because the Athenian island of Salamis was only a few kilometers away. Under most conditions, it was easy for the Athenians to control the

³⁶ Smith 2008: 153–166.

³⁷ Pind. *Pyth.* 9.9; *Nem.* 5.46 and 85; Sim. F.11.28–44.

³⁸ Suda, kappa 423: "Nisaia was also the name for the whole of the Megarid, from Nisos, son of Pandion. Hellanikos writes, 'he took both Nisaia and Nisos the son of Pandion and Megareus the Onchestian.'" For Nisos, his Megarian affiliations and his function as an Attic hero, cf. Kearns 1989: 188; Smith 2008: 94–95.

³⁹ It has been posited that Nisa in the Boiotian entry in the *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* 2.508) is Nisaia/Megara, e.g. Rigsby 1987: 93–102.

shipping traffic in and out of the port. Earlier, in 561 BCE, the Athenians under Peisistratos may have led an army against Megara and were able to seize the Megarian harbour of Nisaia, but it is not easy to find an adequate historical context for this episode. What happened to Salamis before and after Solon is especially unclear, particularly concerning the Megarians' struggle to bring the island back under their control.⁴⁰ We also lack the information as to whether or not the Megarians were able to recapture Nisaia.

Megara is attested as a member of the Peloponnesian League as of the end of the sixth century BCE (Thuc. 1.103.4),⁴¹ however, Megara left the Spartan sphere of influence in the mid-fifth century at a time when the city was engaged in serious border conflicts with Corinth (Thuc. 1.103.4). The city became an ally of Athens in 461 BCE, granting Athens access to both the Megarian harbours of Nisaia and Pagai. Henceforth, the Athenians were able to operate with a fleet in the Corinthian Gulf from points that were directly accessible by land from Attica. The Athenian-Megarian alliance could also be used to block navigations between central Greece and the Peloponnese. At this time, an Athenian garrison was installed in Nisaia. The Corinthians strongly disliked the Athenians' involvement in Megaris (Plut. *Cim.* 17.2; Thuc. 1.103.4), and they responded immediately with resolute military action.

During this alliance, the Long Walls which connected the city of Megara with the harbour area of Nisaia were built. The walls covered a distance of over 1.5 kilometers.⁴² Their length is given as 8 *stadia* (Thuc. 4.66.3) or 18 *stadia* (Strab. 9.1.4). A section of the Long Walls has recently been uncovered (*AR* [1990-1991] 12). The Long Walls created a corridor containing a secure communication line between the city and the coast. This important and extravagant project was contemporaneous with the Athenian construction of their own Long Walls. Athens subsequently applied this concept successfully in other cities, like Argos (Thuc. 5.82.2) and Patras (Thuc. 5.52.2). Aristophanes, who recognized the walls' importance with regard to trade and mobility, uses the phrase 'Megarian Legs' (*Lysistrata* 1170) to describe the walls between Megara and its port, Nisaia. The city of Megara and its closest harbour were regarded, at least from the fifth century BCE, as one

40 Figueira 1985: 291-292.

41 Legon 2005: 463; Figueira 1985: 300.

42 Conwall 2008: 45-48.

entity. When Megara returned to the Peloponnesian League in 446 BCE, the Athenian garrisons in Megaris were eliminated; only Nisaia remained for a short time under Athenian control. With the Thirty Years' Peace between Sparta and Athens the Athenians ultimately lost both ports in Megaris, and at this point the Athenian garrison was compelled to abandon Nisaia.

The relationship between Athens and Megara was poisoned afterwards for generations. In the Archidamian War, the most important aim for Athens was to regain control over Pagai and Nisaia, Megara's most important harbour and focus of military confrontations in the Saronic Gulf. This meant, virtually, to control the Megarid as a whole.⁴³

Nisaia is also presented as a point of interest in the first years of the Peloponnesian War. In 429 BCE, after their defeat by the Athenian fleet in a sea battle near Naupaktos, the remainder of the Peloponnesian fleet retired to Lechaion. The commanders, inspired by the Megarians, planned to make a surprise attack on the unprotected Athenian harbour of Piraeus. Eight thousand Peloponnesian soldiers marched overland to Nisaia, and they used 40 ships from the Megarian *neorion* to attack Piraeus and Athenian strongholds in the Saronic Gulf. After a short time, the Peloponnesians abandoned the attempt to attack Piraeus and instead sailed to a promontory on Salamis where they successfully attacked a *phrourion* called Boudoron.⁴⁴ The Athenians used this place as a watch point (*phylakē*) with three vessels posted there to prevent shipping in and out of Nisaia. Eventually, the Peloponnesians retreated to Nisaia (Thuc. 2.93–94). The effect of the blockade from Boudoron is disputed; nevertheless, it constituted an important part of the strenuous Athenian efforts to force Megara into submission. Nisaia was, according to Thucydides, a *neorion* of Megara with a capacity of at least 40 triremes.⁴⁵ Thucydides also characterized Nisaia as a *limēn* (4.66.3), whereas Strabo speaks of Nisaia as an *epineion* of Megara (9.1.9).⁴⁶

⁴³ Legon 1968: 211–223.

⁴⁴ McLeod 1960: 323.

⁴⁵ Blackman 2013: 580–581. *Neorion* means dockyard or shipshed.

⁴⁶ Suda E 2489.1–3 “from the fact that merchant ships are launched from it and beached there. Alternatively, a small town by the sea, where the cities have their dockyards; just as Piraeus that of the Athenians and Nisaia that of the

Thucydides notes an important detail in his report. He states that the Peloponnesians found that the Megarian ships they had taken from the *neorion* were not dry inside but were leaking because they had been stored for a long period in the shipsheds. This seems to indicate that the Megarians were, at this time, not very active at sea, and were not able to keep their whole contingent of triremes in use and in good condition.⁴⁷ We also hear that just a few years earlier the Megarians provided only 12 triremes to assist Corinth.

In 427 BCE, a democratic regime seized power in Megara and exiled some of the oligarchs. The Athenians were then able to control the fortified island/promontory of Minoa (Thuc. 3.51; Paus. 8.6.1), and between 427 and 424 BCE, the Athenians used this happenstance to bring Nisaia under their direct control. In Megara there was a controversy about the exiles. The democratic group, in secret negotiations with the Athenians, who still used the island of Minoa as a base for expeditions, developed the following plan: the Athenians would be given access into the Long Walls with the aim of interrupting the connection between Megara and Nisaia, the latter of which still acted as a Peloponnesian garrison. After some difficulty, the Athenians gained access into the space inside the Long Walls, but it was not possible for the city to be handed over to them. Eventually, the Peloponnesian garrison was forced to leave Nisaia and the port fell into Athenian hands. The intervention of a Peloponnesian army again prevented the capture of the whole of Megaris, but the Spartan commander, Brasidas, did not succeed in bringing Nisaia back under Peloponnesian control.

The Long Walls were recaptured shortly afterwards by the Megarians, now again ruled by an oligarchic regime. The fortifications were razed to the ground in a highly symbolic act by conservative Megarians in order to stabilize the political and military situation (Thuc. 4.109.3). Nisaia, however, remained in the hand of the Athenians, even subsequent to the Peace of Nikias after 421 BCE. The reason for this decision was that the Athenians had acquired Nisaia by capitulation, not by force or treachery (Thuc. 5.17). Not until the year 409 BCE was Megara able to reintegrate Nisaia back into its city (Diod. 13.65.1).

Megarid. It is possible for the word to be used of every port and coastal [town] which now most people call a *katabolos* ("naval station")."

⁴⁷ Blackman 2013: 21.

The Athenians, under their *stratēgos* Phokion, rebuilt the Long Walls in 343 BCE, when some democratic Megarians secretly requested assistance from the Athenians to confront the Makedonians who were collaborating with some Megarian oligarchs.⁴⁸ According to Plutarch, the Athenians fortified Nisaia and were responsible for the reconstruction of Megara's Long Walls.⁴⁹ Phokion secured Megara for Athens, and the Long Walls were more than a pure fortification, but also a symbol of a special political understanding both in Megara and in Athens. Athens had once again financially committed itself to a high degree, and an Athenian garrison was again stationed in Nisaia. As for the Long Walls, they still seemed to exist in Strabo's time (9.1.9), whereas Pausanias makes no mention of them.

There was a sanctuary of Poseidon in the port of Nisaia (Thuc. 4.118). This god was prominently honoured in almost all Megarian and Herakleiot colonies.⁵⁰ An Enyalion was also situated near the harbour (Thuc. 4.67).⁵¹ Pausanias informs us that near the harbour was a sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros, but the roof had fallen in because of old age. This was a very old cult that was relevant also for Megarian colonists who brought the goddess with them to their colonies in the Archaic period (Paus. 1.4.3).⁵² Finally, there were salt pans near Nisaia (*Schol.* in Aristoph. *Ach.* 700); Aristophanes mentions the export of salt to Athens (Aristoph. *Ach.* 721. 772).⁵³

Pagai

Pagai ("Springs") was the excellently located main Megarian harbour on the Corinthian Gulf.⁵⁴ The site is situated near modern Alepochori. Geographically, Pagai was separated from the rest of Megaris by a distance of some 16 kilometers over a hilly terrain. In antiquity, a road from Pagai to Megara led through a plain framed by the foothills of the

⁴⁸ Gehrke 1976.

⁴⁹ Dem. 19.294–296; Plut. *Phok.* 13.2 and 15.1; see Gehrke 1986: 110.

⁵⁰ Robu 2013: 65–80.

⁵¹ Antonetti 1998: 35–46.

⁵² Bremmer 2012: 31–33.

⁵³ Langdon 2010: 161–166. For the famous roses near Nisaia see Athen. 15.683f.

⁵⁴ Smith 2008: 35; cf. Hellanikos *FGrH* F44: "Pagai: a place in the Megarid." See also Ps.–Skyl. 39.

Pateras to the northeast, and the Geraneia mountains to the southwest. There existed a relatively simple land connection between Pagai and the urban center of Megara by one of the principal roads through the Megaris,⁵⁵ although the exact route is still debated.⁵⁶ Another ancient road led along the coast of the Corinthian Gulf from Pagai, with a connection in the north to Aigosthena and hence to Kreusis in Boiotia. The steep cliffs near the coast and the sudden violent winds there made the route from Pagai via Aigosthena to Boiotian Kreusis quite dangerous.

Pagai was fortified in the fifth century BCE (Thuc. 1.103.4) and situated so as to control the eastern end of the Gulf of Corinth. The place was also a part of the defense and signaling system in ancient Megaris.⁵⁷

A port located at Pagai was sometimes considered as unfavourable due to the lack of suitable natural conditions, such as a protected bay.⁵⁸ At modern Alepochori there is a small promontory with a harbour area to the east. Some stone blocks found in the water have been interpreted as ship sheds.⁵⁹ The acropolis is located on a small hill near the coast, and remains of a circuit wall with towers and gates are still visible, probably built in the Hellenistic period. It is unclear if there was a fortification connecting the acropolis with the harbour area and the lower city. Perhaps there was a main gate through which the harbour area was accessed. There are also the remains of a Hellenistic theatre.⁶⁰

We know that in the year 461 BCE, the Athenians, now allied with the Megarians, obtained control of Pagai at the same time as Nisaia. The brief report in Thucydides gives no information as to whether the Athenians in Pagai initiated defense measures or installed a garrison. The Athenians now possessed easy and comfortable access to the Corinthian Gulf, which they used successfully. They also gained an important strategic position with

⁵⁵ Wiseman 1974: 535-543.

⁵⁶ Smith 2008: 84.

⁵⁷ Smith 2008: 89-92.

⁵⁸ Meyer 1942: 2285.

⁵⁹ Lebègue 1875: 44-46; Wiseman 1978: 22: "Traces of the ship-sheds have been noted in the harbor.". See also Meyer 1942: 2286: "Am Strand glaubte Lebègue noch die überfluteten Reste von Schiffshäusern zu erkennen." Bernier 1993: 144-145.

⁶⁰ Van de Maele 1992: 99.

regards to the connection with the settlement of the Messenians at Naupaktos near the straits of Rhion. For years the Athenians used Pagai as a harbour and were able to extend their naval sphere of action into North-Western Greece with raids against Peloponnesian Sikyon and Oiniadai in Akarnania in c. 454 BCE.⁶¹

After Megara's revolt from Athens and its reintegration into the Peloponnesian League in 446 BCE (Thuc. 1.103-114), Athens sent a successful military expedition against Megara, defeating them in battle and driving them back into their city, though the Athenians were incapable of preventing the loss of Pagai. In a famous memorial inscription from Athens,⁶² we are informed that the Athenians returned home by a difficult route from Pagai to Attica to avoid a direct military confrontation with a Spartan army. Athens was finally forced to relinquish Pagai (and Nisaia) after the conclusion of the Thirty Years Peace with Sparta in 446 BCE (Thuc. 1.115.1, 4.121.3).

During the Peloponnesian War, Megara was once again hard pressed by the Athenians, whose central aim was to regain control of Pagai. For this reason, it is not surprising that there was, in 425 BCE, amongst the claims stated by the Athenians under Kleon during the peace negotiations with Spartan ambassadors,⁶³ the return of the two most important Megarian ports, Nisaia and Pagai, to Athens (Thuc. 4.21).⁶⁴

By 424 BCE the regular military incursions of the Athenians into Megarian territory had made life very difficult. At the same time, internal political strife in Megara became more and more evident. Megarians in favour of an oligarchy were exiled by democratic groups in 427 BCE, so they settled in Plataia (Thuc. 4.66.1). Later the exiles moved, in 424 BCE, to Pagai to start plundering activities against the rest of the Megaris (Thuc. 3.68.3).⁶⁵ Pagai now played a special role because the exiles there were easily connected with their Peloponnesian allies, and could easily be supplied by them, by means of the Corinthian

61 Thuc. 1.111.3; Plut. *Per.* 19.3. According to Diod. 11.88.1-2 the number of ships was 50. According to Plut. *Per.* 19.2-4 there were 100 triremes active in the Gulf of Corinth at this time. In Thucydides we do not find any numbers. Cf. Hornblower 1991: 170; Stickler 2010: 143.

62 IG I³.1353 (446-425 BCE); Edmondson 1970: 193.

63 Thuc. 4.8-10.

64 Thuc. 4.21.3.

65 Thuc. 4.66.1; cf. 3.68.3. Gehrke 1985: 107; Losada 1969: 145-157; Panagopoulos 1989: 275.

Gulf. The oligarchic exiles in Pagai, together with their allies, started a war against Megara. This forced the democratic group to cooperate with the Athenians. The oligarchs were able to dismantle the Long Walls and to take control of Nisaia, but they were not successful in their efforts to bring Megara under their control. The exiles in Pagai were, however, allowed to return to Megara. With the help of other conservative people in Megara, they took advantage of the instability in the city to restore oligarchic rule.⁶⁶

The history of Pagai is rather sparse for the next 150 years. In the middle of the third century BCE, Megara lay helpless between Achaians and Boiotians and was forced to enter the Achaian League after the integration of Corinth by Aratos (Polyb. 2.43.6; Plut. *Arat.* 24.3), with the aim of saving the city from Antigonid domination. At the same time, in 243/2 BCE, Pagai and Aigosthena severed their close political ties with Megara and joined the Achaian League as independent cities. This means that the harbour in Pagai changed its dependent political status, perhaps as a Megarian *komē*, and henceforth becomes an autonomous city within the federal state of the Achaians. Such a change would have altered both the political and economic constitutions (Polyb. 3.37.10).

In 224 BCE, Pagai joined, along with Megara and Aigosthena, the Confederation of the Boiotians, when the Spartan King Kleomenes had already “pushed his Arkadian corridor to the Gulf,” and thus separated the western half of the Achaian League from its eastern half.⁶⁷ In reality, it meant that he cut off Megara from the rest of the League. So Polybius states that “with the consent of the Achaians”, Megara and Pagai joined the Boiotian koinon (Polyb. 20.6.8). This would seem to indicate that there was an official decision by the Achaian koinon to support the new political orientation of Megara, Pagai, and Aigosthena. Yet, one must ask whether it is actually true that the Achaians supported the transfer of Megara, Pagai, and Aigosthena. What can we say about the Megarian motivation or the motivation of the members of the Achaian League?⁶⁸ Mackil speculates here about a positive relationship between the Achaians and the Boiotians and thinks that

⁶⁶ Thuc. 4.74.1-4.

⁶⁷ Urban 1978: 150 and 224.

⁶⁸ Urban 1978: 192-193.

the interstate cooperation might be based on a partnership of the two koina of mainland Greece.⁶⁹

For about 30 years Megara, Pagai, and Aigosthena remained part of the Boiotian koinon, in fact, a citizen from Pagai acted in the late third century as a Delphic *theōrodokos* (see *BCH* 45, 1921, 11.28). This situation changed in c. 192 BCE, when Megara and Pagai returned to the Achaian League and quarreled with the still Boiotian Aigosthena about the harbour at Panormos.⁷⁰ Pagai's *syndikoi* were closely involved in the quarrel between Megara, Pagai and Aigosthena,⁷¹ which the Boiotians tried to prevent. They sent a force to attack Megara and Pagai but withdrew when they heard that the Achaians had arrived with their own contingent (Polyb. 20.6.10-12; Plut. *Philopoimen* 12).

There is a decree of *proxenia* published by the polis of Megara for Pagai, in which it is possible that the Achaian city of Sikyon acted as a representative in favour of the interests of Pagai.⁷² Later, in an inscription found in Pagai, a certain Apollonides is mentioned as the Megarian *basileus*, which shows that Pagai was no longer independent from Megara (*IG* VII.188, c. 192 BCE). In the Roman period Pagai functioned as an independent city, but there are no extant decrees until the period of Roman supremacy.⁷³ Pagai re-emerged as a major harbour in the Corinthian Gulf, where Italian *negotiatores* were active in cooperation with traders from Megara and Aigosthena⁷⁴, thereby showing that Pagai was still a good choice as a port for merchandise. An inscription from Pagai, dated from 67-59 BCE, mentions an agora, a theatre, and magistrates like the *keryx* of the *synhedrion* (*IG* VII.190).

In the middle of first century BCE we hear about an agonistic foundation in Pagai to finance a festival that was no longer being regularly celebrated due to the lack of public

⁶⁹ Mackil 2013: 112.

⁷⁰ See *IG* VII.188; *SEG* 13.327.

⁷¹ Étienne and Knoepfler 1976: 329, n. 242.

⁷² Harter-Uibopuu 1998: 110-111.

⁷³ Liddel 2009: 425. In *IG* VII.190 Pagai acts as a polis (c. 67-59 BCE); *SEG* 50, 480, 193; Rhodes 1997: 111.

⁷⁴ *IG* VII.190 from the first century BCE, with Wilhelm 1907: 17-32. Cf. Hatzfeld 1975: 73; Smith 2008: 122. It is possible that after the destruction of Corinth, Pagai benefitted economically. Both the Megarians and Pagai might have been affected by pirate raids around the year 80 BCE: Plut. *Pomp.* 24; Cic. *fam.* 4.5.4; cf. Rigsby 2010: 308-313.

funds. Soteles, son of Kallinikos, had taken responsibility for generously financing the festival, and was honoured for giving Pagai 1,200 Alexandrine drachmas (*IG VII.190*).⁷⁵ The money financed the yearly celebration of the pyrrhic dance performed during the festival of the Soteria in Pagai.⁷⁶ The Megarians and Pagaiaans long commemorated Artemis' aid against the Persians under Mardonios in 480 BCE.⁷⁷ According to Pausanias, there was a statue of Artemis Soter in Pagai, which looked exactly like the one in Megara that was erected in the fifth century BCE to commemorate the defeat of the Persians. Moreover, on the Pagaian coinage, there was a depiction of a running Artemis wearing a *khiton* and carrying torches.⁷⁸

An Archaic inscription mentions another cult in Pagai, that of Apollon Lykeios (*IG VII.35*). An inscription from the early Imperial period shows that Herakles was worshipped (*IG VII.192*). A new inscription from Dourachos, near Alepochori, references Apollo Apotropaïos as a local god of Pagai. This inscription may belong to the remains of an Archaic and Classical sanctuary near Alepochori.⁷⁹ At the time of Pausanias there was also a *herōon* for Aigialeus, son of Adrastos, who had been buried in Pagai and was probably worshipped as a hero in the Aigialeion.⁸⁰ Pausanias mentions the Megarians' claim that Tereus, son of Ares, was king of an area known as Pagai on the western coast of Megaris, but Pausanias does not agree with this story and suggests that Tereus was actually king of Daulis in Phokis (Paus. 1.48.7–8).

Panormos

The only source that informs us about a third harbour in Megaris on the coast of the Corinthian Gulf is an inscription from the Hellenistic period. At the beginning of the second century BCE, in a Megarian proxeny decree for judges from Achaia and Sikyon, it

⁷⁵ *IG VII.190*; Wilhelm 1907: 19–20; Ceccarelli 1998: 95–97.

⁷⁶ *IG VII.190*. See also *IG VII.16* on the Soteria at Megara.

⁷⁷ See Paus. 1.44.4, 1.40.2; Hdt. 9.14; cf. Muller 1982: 405–407; Pritchett 1998: 154.

⁷⁸ Imhoof-Blumer 1885: 53.

⁷⁹ Valta 2016: 239–252.

⁸⁰ Pind. *Pyth.* 8.53–55; Paus. 1.44.4, 9.19.2; Apollod. 1.103. Adrastos was buried in Megara.

is attested that Pagai was involved in a territorial dispute with Aigosthena. Aigosthena was still part of the Boiotian League at that point, and their conflict was over a harbour with the telling name Panormos, “natural, protected from all sides by the winds”.⁸¹ The surrounding details of the inscription explain that there were two harbour cities, each belonging to a different koinon, and that the conflict was resolved at the request of both the Boiotians and the Achaians.⁸²

Panormos was most likely located in the northern part of a small, protected bay near Psatha, at the east end of the Corinthian Gulf. Ancient remains such as Hellenistic pottery and cut-blocks of stone have been found here. If this is the case, then Panormos was indeed situated in the border area between Aigosthena and Pagai, with the harbour separated from the territory of Aigosthena by the Mytikas mountain range that reaches down to the sea.⁸³

It is not clear when Panormos was founded or if it was ever a permanent harbour. Perhaps it was created only when Megara joined the Achaian League, in compensation for the grant of political independence to its former *komai* Aigosthena and Pagai.⁸⁴ After 242 BCE, Megara lost direct control of these two harbours, potentially provoking the search for a substitute. What these measures meant for the general economic condition in Megaris cannot be determined. Maybe the Megarians were able, with the support of the Achaians, to establish a corridor to Panormos to trade products from the hinterland via the Corinthian Gulf. They would have used the existing road network in Megaris and Panormos could have been integrated into the still existing defensive system along the Gulf of Corinth.⁸⁵

81 Lehmann-Hartleben 1923: 293. Fuchs 1932: 98.

82 SEG 13.327. Ager 1996: 85.

83 Lebègue 1875: 50ff. Meyer 1949: 658. Meyer 1942: 2285. Ober 1985: 23. Muller 1983: 176–179. Bernier 1993: 124. *Contra* Legon 1981: 33, “The fine bay and gentle beach at modern Psatha, which lies midway between Pagae and Aegosthena, was too inaccessible by land ever to have either commercial or strategic value, and so it remains today.”

84 Panormos was probably a new settlement established in the third century BCE. We have no traces of fortification near it (Smith 2008: 80) Smith speculates about two settlements near Psatha (Vathykhoría and Kryphtes). From there it is possible to ship to the west via the Corinthian gulf. (Smith 2008: 41. Nr. 35 and 39–40).

85 Wiseman 1978: 26; Smith 2008: 89–92.

Aigosthena

Aigosthena, the most northern Megarian harbour on the Corinthian Gulf, was situated at Porto Germano at the eastern end of a bay, at the base of Mt. Kithairon. Aigosthena is separated from the rest of the Megarid by steep foothills. Pausanias reports (1.44.4) that Aigosthena and Pagai were located in the most mountainous parts of Megaris bordering Boiotia.⁸⁶ Aigosthena itself is surrounded by the foothills of Mt. Kithairon in the north and Mt. Pateras in the south, enclosing a small, arable coastal plain.⁸⁷ In a protected corner of the bay was a small harbour. The coastal town might be equally classified as Boiotian or Athenian, since the period of Megarian control was only relatively short. Aigosthena was connected to Attica and Boiotia by two passable ancient routes. The first is through the valley of Vilia, where there is a relatively easy road into Athenian territory. As for the second, in the north, via a coastal road, Aigosthena was connected with Boiotian Kreusis.⁸⁸

The acropolis was on a hill near the coast and was connected to the harbour area by fortifications in order to secure access to the sea. Some submerged piers and dry-docks have been discovered there. There are also some early archaeological material in Aigosthena, which might refer to a settlement that existed there already in the Dark Ages and the Archaic period.⁸⁹

The date of the fortification in Aigosthena and the identification of the parties responsible for this impressive and well-preserved installation with its numerous gates and towers, cannot be established with certainty.⁹⁰ This is also true for some watch posts and towers near Aigosthena at Tsamali and Mallia Psatha.⁹¹ There is little evidence that the impulse to build these walls came from Megara itself.⁹² The construction and building of such a

⁸⁶ Ps.-Skyl. 39; Plin. 4.23. Ptol. 3.15.18. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Aigosthena*.

⁸⁷ Aigosthena was well known for its wine, Polyb. 6.11a. For vineyards there, cf. Robert 1939: 116.

⁸⁸ Ober 1985: 121–122.

⁸⁹ Smith 2008: 78.

⁹⁰ See Smith 2008: 47–49; Ober 1985: 121: “Aigosthena is isolated from the rest of the Megarid and had no strategic value for Megara.” It is possible that in this time an Athenian garrison was sent to Aigosthena, Ober 1983: 387ff. and 1987: 586ff. For the historical background, Gehrke 1976: 40ff.

⁹¹ Ober 1983: 40; Smith 2008: 41, 44–45.

⁹² Van de Maele 1992: 93–107, who thinks that Demetrios (c. 302) was responsible for the fortification; cf. also Lawrence 1979: 388–399; Robu 2012: 85–116.

fortification was a very costly enterprise and, therefore, probably was the work of a nearby greater power with more resources and ambitions. It was built either by the Athenians in 343 BCE, when they began to reconstruct the Long Walls from Megara to Nisaia, or by Demetrios Poliorketes, who had installed a garrison in Aigosthena in 300 BCE.⁹³ If an earlier date for the construction is allowed, then it is also possible that the Boiotians under Epaminondas could have been responsible for the fortification.⁹⁴ It is conceivable, however, that the place had been used for maritime purposes for a long time, but under quite different conditions.

Aigosthena is first mentioned in ancient Greek sources in Xenophon's *Hellenika*, during a time when it was situated in the territory of Megara. Xenophon described the unplanned, dangerous march of the Spartans and their allies, as part of the difficult means by which they were to access the harbour by land. They marched under Kleombrotos from Boiotia to Aigosthena in 378 BCE,⁹⁵ where the Spartan king dissolved his army.⁹⁶ Aigosthena is mentioned once more in the *Hellenika* during the events after the Battle of Leuktra in 371 BCE, where the defeated Spartans and their allies retreated back to Megarian Aigosthena.⁹⁷ There they met Archidamos, the leader of a Spartan auxiliary contingent. The report of Xenophon is very brief, so we are not told how Archidamos had come to Aigosthena. It is possible that he came by ship from Sikyon.⁹⁸

In his *Periplus* Pseudo-Skylax (39), generally dated to the middle of the fourth century, refers to Aigosthena as a polis, together with other poleis in Megaris. If this restoration of the manuscript is correct, then Aigosthena is referenced here – in the rubrics of *The Copenhagen Polis Centre* – most likely as a polis in the urban sense rather than a political organization.⁹⁹ In an inscription dated to c. 300 BCE, Aigosthena is called a *komē*, the policies of which were determined in Megara. Aigosthena can thus be characterized as a *komē* or a polis at the same time. The site was, in other words, a dependent settlement in

93 Cf. Liddel 2009: 224; Robu 2014a: 95–118.

94 Cooper 2009.

95 Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.16–17; 6.4.25–26.

96 Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.16–17; Ober 1985: 122–123.

97 Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.25–26; 6.4.17–19.

98 Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.26.

99 Hansen 1995: 142–143; Legon 2005: 462.

the territory of Megara.¹⁰⁰ It is generally conceivable that from the fourth century a sizeable population inhabited Aigosthena and identified itself as Aigosthenitan. It is also possible that, besides the port facilities and buildings used in the context of trade, there existed public buildings, sanctuaries, and other structures in the urban design of the city.

The Aigosthenitai that are mentioned in *IG VII.1* (c. 300 BCE) did not act as the assembly of an independent polis but as a dependency of Megara.¹⁰¹ They were able only to recommend honors to Megara, for a certain Makedonian *stratēgos*, Zoilos of Boiotia, who had been appointed as commander of the garrison at Aigosthena by King Demetrios.¹⁰² It is worthwhile to note that the Zoilos inscription was not set up in Aigosthena, but in Megara, because we find the following publication clause: the decree should be written on a stone stele and placed in the main sanctuary in Megara, the Olympieion, so ... “that all may realize that the people of Megara honor those who act favourably towards either the city or the *komai* in word or deed.” The inscription clearly indicates in the last paragraph that in the early third century there were several *komai* in Megaris. The question of whether Pagai can also be regarded as another *komē* must be left open due to the lack of clear evidence.

In 243 BCE Aigosthenai became an independent polis member of the Achaian League, together with Megara and Pagai. Aigosthena was now able, officially and formally, to define its own territory, which was separate from the rest of Megaris. The polis had now passed a constitution and developed its own judicial procedures, for instance the *nomothesia* (*IG VII.223*, difficult to date), which was inspired by the Megarian model as much as by the Achaian *politeia*.¹⁰³

This situation changed in 223 BCE, when Aigosthena was incorporated as an independent polis into the Boiotian Confederacy. Henceforth, decrees followed the standard formula in

¹⁰⁰ Hansen 1995: 74–75.

¹⁰¹ Hansen 1995: 74.

¹⁰² Mack 2015: 217.

¹⁰³ To the period from 242 to 223 BCE or 192 to 146 BCE belongs a decree of *proxenia* from Aigosthena for a citizen of Megara, (*IG VII.223*), which mentions the federal secretary of the Achaians, the *basileus* in Aigosthena as eponymous official, *damiourgoi* and *synarchai* as a typical Achaian institution); cf. Robu 2011: 79–101. The date of this inscription is still debated, Smith 2008: 128.

Boiotia.¹⁰⁴ This orientation was accompanied by changes to Aigosthena's constitution, which was now based more on the Boiotian rather than on the Megarian-Achaian model.¹⁰⁵ Both the use of the Boiotian dialect in inscriptions and the formula of the decrees indicate that Aigosthena was deeply influenced by the Boiotian koinon at the time. The archon in Onchestos, the highest Boiotian federal magistrate in the third and second centuries BCE, now dated decrees from Aigosthena.¹⁰⁶ Three decrees of *proxenia* by Aigosthena can be dated during the time when the polis was part of the Boiotian state. The Aigosthenitans granted *proxenia* to the following: a man from Khaleion (*IG* VII.208); a citizen from Sikyon (*IG* VII.213); and a Thespian (*SEG* 49.500).¹⁰⁷ The geographic distribution of the honorands' places of origin suggests that the external contacts of the polis were concentrated in and around the Gulf of Corinth, which was primarily used as the economic conduit. A treaty of friendship with Siphai (*IG* VII.207) also dates from this time. The Siphaians were privileged in Aigosthena with *proedria*, and were allowed to participate in common sacrifices as if they were citizens of Aigosthena, because of *eunoia* and *homonoia*.¹⁰⁸ These *psēphismata* were erected in the shrine of the hero Melampous in Aigosthena (*IG* VII.207, 208, 233).¹⁰⁹

This was a time of integration for Aigosthena into the *ethnos* of the Boiotians. We have a total of 12 preserved ephebic inscriptions, most of which were published on a great stele and in chronological order by the archons in Onchestos.¹¹⁰ In three late third century catalogues, the names of the *ephēboi* who had been graduated to the ranks of the *tagmata* or *peltophorai* survive. The names of those who were victorious in a military competition (*ton hopliton*) are also listed. The event was performed by the *ephēboi* in either Aigosthena or at the Pamboiotia.¹¹¹ Yet many questions remain. Unlike other contemporary poleis, some

104 Liddel 2009: 411–436, and Robu 2016: 337.

105 See Maquieira 1992: 85–89, who discusses elements of the Boiotian dialect in the inscriptions of Aigosthena.

106 A *polemarchos* is mentioned, clearly as an adopted Boiotian magistrate, in *IG* VII.207, 208, 213. Cf. Smith 2008: 113.

107 Dated to 100 BCE. There is also a decree of *proxenia* for a Megarian (*IG* VII.223, 192–146 BCE or earlier?) with the right to pasture in Aigosthena. In the Boiotian Koinon it was an established practice for member-states to grant decrees of *proxenia* to non-Boiotian cities in addition to federal decrees of *proxenia*.

108 Robu 2014b: 295.

109 See now the honorary decree for Philleas from Aigosthena. The stele was originally set up in the sanctuary of Melampous, cf. Diakoumakou 1999: 173–175.

110 Étienne and Knoepfler 1976: 269–284; Hennig 1985: 329–342.

111 Roesch 1982: 346–347.

scholars think that in Boiotia all young men with citizen status were enrolled.¹¹² These catalogues were a symbol for a new military order that was established in Boiotia, after the reform of the army between 250 and 237 BCE.¹¹³ The *ephebeia* would have been an important part of this reform, with boys and young men trained by experts in the phalanx formation. Military teams from each Boiotian city competed with one another to demonstrate their *euhoplia* and *eutaxia*, annually at the Pamboiotia, in honour of the goddess Athena Itonia.¹¹⁴

IG Number	Type of list, date	Number
IG VII.209	Catalogue of <i>epheboi</i> , 223–201 or earlier	10 names
IG VII.210	Peltophoras from the <i>epheboi</i>	1 name
IG VII.211	Peltophoras from the <i>epheboi</i>	1 name
IG VII.212	Catalogue of <i>epheboi</i> , 219–198	5 names
IG VII.214	Peltophora and Catalogue of <i>epheboi</i> 218–197	1+4 names
IG VII.215	Catalogue of <i>epheboi</i> 217–196	c. 8 names
IG VII.216	Catalogue of <i>epheboi</i> , 215–194	11 names
IG VII.217	Catalogue of <i>epheboi</i> 214–193	8 names
IG VII.218	Catalogue of <i>epheboi</i> 214–103	6 names

112 Étienne and Knoepfler 1976: 202.

113 Roesch 1982: 252.

114 Chaniotis 2005: 23.

IG VII.220	Catalogue of <i>epheboi</i> 223–192	1 name
IG VII.221	Catalogue of <i>epheboi</i> 223–192	7–8 names
IG VII.222	Catalogue of <i>epheboi</i> 223–192	5 names

The date when Aigosthena seceded from the Boiotian League and rejoined the Achaians is still disputed, yet Polybius claims that Philopoimen was *stratēgos* at the time. André Aymard thus dated the secession of Megara to 206/5 BCE.¹¹⁵ Alternatively, Beloch was the first who dated Philopoimen's *stratēgeia* to 193/2 BCE, a date that is generally accepted today. In the following period we have a decree of *proxenia* for a Megarian (IG VII.15). He is honoured with *proedria* at the Melampodeion and with the right to pasture at Aigosthena. This was a forceful statement about the autonomy of Aigosthena from Megara. A distinct rivalry between Megara and Aigosthena is documented concerning the dispute over the ownership of the harbour of Panormos (IG VII.188, 189).

The Melampodeion in Aigosthena, where a cult with sacrifices and an annual festival for Melampous were celebrated, is also mentioned by Pausanias (1.44.5). A musical and an athletic program at the Melampodeia are referenced in IG VII.219. Official decrees of the city were erected in the Melampodeion, a tradition that began in the middle of the third century BCE; clearly this happened independently from Megara.¹¹⁶ The cult of Melampous seems to indicate connections between Boiotian and Eleusian cultic traditions.¹¹⁷ Perhaps Melampous was first honoured as a local hero in Aigosthena, and his divinity as a 'full' god was established later, with local conversations gravitating around the idea of genuinely local traditions. In addition to the Melampodeion, there was a Herakleion with its own *agones* and a cult for the Egyptian deities.¹¹⁸ The Egyptian presence may be due to Boiotian influence.

¹¹⁵ Aymard 1938: 14–16.

¹¹⁶ Liddel 2009: 427.

¹¹⁷ Smith 2008: 123.

¹¹⁸ SEG 23.368 and Smith 2008: 122.

A *temenos* in Megara (the so-called Poseidonion) is documented in an inscription from Hellenistic times, in which we also learn of the existence of a *koinon* of the Aigosthenitans.¹¹⁹ A woman named Arete, daughter of Aristandros, had bought a part of a *kepos* located near the sea from the *koinon* of the Aigosthenitans for 1,000 drachmas. She then consecrated it to Poseidon and ordered that the income should be paid to the foundation. We are informed about the existence of a group, or a cooperation of merchants or traders, who represented Aigosthenitan interests in Megara, and were engaged in commercial activities between the Gulf of Corinth and the Saronic Gulf.¹²⁰ It is interesting to note that there was also a Megarian community present in Aigosthena (IG VII.223).

Shifting Local Horizons: Some Concluding Remarks

As elsewhere in ancient Greece, the harbour sites of Megaris evidently served more than one function. As places of trade and exchange, they were important for economic and military purposes, and they were places of political and cultural significance.¹²¹ It is important to see the interaction between polis and harbour places as part of an intricate interplay between cooperation and confrontation. Harbours can also be interpreted as symbolic entities, as networking places with numerous nodes of contact and exchange. This might produce a form of creative antagonism: the people living in a harbour might simultaneously be interpreted as locals with their own history and following their own interests that were also embedded in the political and economic structure of the larger polis.

It is remarkable to note that all four harbours in Megaris had their own names. A quick glance at other cities makes it clear that most poleis rarely assigned a specific name to their harbour (with the obvious exception of Athens and Piraeus). The use of a different name for a harbour area thus betrays certain local structures. Maybe those designations spoke, literally so, to the relationship between port and polis. The name Nisaia was closely

119 IG VII.43 from the third century BCE.

120 Smith 2008: 121.

121 Bonnier 2008: 47-61; von Reden 1995: 24-37.

connected to Megara through stories of mythical descent. Pagai (“well, spring”) and Panormos (“natural outlook”) are known for settlements elsewhere but the perspective from Megara, looking outward to the fringes of the territory, might also have been part of a specific spatial semantics between center and periphery.

In the complex topography of the Megarid, the spatial dynamics between polis and harbours/peripheries played out in a distinctive manner. Nisaia was always closely connected to Megara; the distance to Megara was short, with the Long Walls practically and symbolically highlighting the ties between both. Pagai, further away, seems to have been largely oriented towards Megara. As we have seen, the town proudly recalled its close ties with Megara in their common history, the glorious fight for freedom against Persia in particular. The fact, however, that Pagai opted for political independence in 243 BCE shows that the Pagaian were ready, at that time, to take things into their own hands. They were willing to establish their own frontiers and a separate political organization. Aigosthena, finally, was rather disconnected from the city. The city's geographical isolation from the rest of Megaris prevented its inhabitants from an exclusive and privileged orientation toward Megara.

Economically, we detected a close entanglement between the harbours and the inland polis. Hans-J. Gehrke thus put Megara in the rubric of “medium-sized and small agricultural countries with a maritime component,”¹²² yet Gehrke himself was not entirely satisfied by this label because the stated “maritime component” might have been stronger than the formula suggest, especially in the period before the Peloponnesian War. When Pagai and Aigosthena seceded from Megara in the middle of the third century BCE, this did not exclude ongoing close ties, especially not through associations and other trading groups. Indeed, as we have seen, a *koinon* of the Aigosthenitans was active in Megara in the early Hellenistic period, mainly engaged in the pursuit of economic matters. In the first century BCE, residents from Aigosthena were also present in Pagai (*IG* VII.190). In Megara, in turn, we encounter a group of residents from Pagai who coordinated their

122 Gehrke 1986: 140.

trade with Italian and Roman partners at the time. Apparently, foreign traders such as these were present in all three Megarian cities.¹²³

Dynamic changes in the relations between polis and ports must have reverberated in politics. Our sources attest Megara's division into smaller units clustering around agricultural settlements, possibly referred to as *komai*. Five *merē* are attested, according to Aristoteles' *Constitution of the Megarians*: Heraïs, Peraiïs, Megareïs, Kynosoureïs, and Tripodiskoi.¹²⁴ According to Plutarch, the people in Megaris had lived *kata komas* since early times. In a complex process of political and territorial integration, sometimes described as *synoikismos*,¹²⁵ a new urban center emerged, which provided the new platform for a separation between the polis and its hinterland.¹²⁶ Since the Classical period, the three Doric *phylai* were in place,¹²⁷ which served as a backbone to the military order (also IG IV².71).

How did the harbours fit into the grid of civic subdivisions? We do not know. Nisaia appears in the list of Megarian places by Strabo. He reminds his reader that the contingent of Aias in the *Catalogue of Ships* included sites which apparently were situated in the territory of Megara (Polichna, Aigiroussa, Tripodes, and Nisaia: 9.1.10).¹²⁸ Due to its proximity and importance since the Archaic period, the harbour was probably seen as part of the city of Megara rather than counting among the *komai*. As noted above, IG VII.1 (c. 300 BCE) calls Aigosthena a Megarian *komē*, and the same might have applied to Pagai. It is unclear, however, how both related to earlier settlements in the Megarid, such as those accounted for by Strabo. Michael Sakellariou thinks that Pagai and Aigosthena were either of a "semi-autonomous" state in earlier times, and hence mostly disconnected from Megara, or that they were simply too small to be noticed.¹²⁹ Pausanias (1.44.4), on the other hand, had no doubts that the Megarians founded both coastal sites. During the

123 IG VII.190; Hatzfeld 1975: 73.

124 Cf. Chapter 1. Plut. *Mor.* 295b–c; Aristot. *Poet.* 1446a 30–33; cf. Liddel 2009: 425; Legon 2005: 463; Robu 2015: 361–365.

125 Moggi 1976: 29–34.

126 Legon 2005: 462.

127 Jones 1987: 94–97.

128 Rigsby 1987: 98–102.

129 Sakellariou and Pharaklas 1972: 23.

Classical period both port towns were heavily dependent on Megara, but here, too, we are uncertain as to how this dependency played out. Some scholars believe that the Megarian *komai* resembled the civic substructure of demes in neighbouring Attica,¹³⁰ but there is no evidence to suggest how, if at all, Aigosthena and Pagai functioned as political subdivisions within the political organization of the Megarian polis. What does seem clear, on the other hand, is that both settlements grew and developed further in the Classical period, especially in military and economic terms. With this came, as we have seen, the rise of local traditions differed, in part, from those in the city of Megara itself.

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130 Walter 1993: 99; see also Meyer 1932: 201.

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Chapter 5

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Theognis and the Ambivalence of Aristocracy

In his school-thesis presented in 1864, Friedrich Nietzsche formulated the following view on the poet Theognis of Megara:

“Theognis appears as a finely formed nobleman who has fallen on bad times, with the passion of a nobleman such as his time loved, full of fatal hatred toward the upward striving masses, tossed about by a sad fate that wore him down and made him milder in many respects. He is a characteristic image of that old, ingenious somewhat spoiled and no longer firmly rooted blood nobility, placed at the boundary of an old and a new era, a distorted Janus-head, since what is past seems so beautiful and enviable, that which is coming seems disgusting and repulsive; a typical head for all those noble figures who represent the aristocracy prior to a popular revolution and who struggle for the existence of the class of nobles as for their individual existence.”

Nietzsche’s work on Theognis was a considerable achievement. It presupposed expert knowledge, not just of Classics and Greek Literature, but also of Codicology, and it

certainly helped to build the reputation of the then merely twenty-year old scholar. His work on Theognis considerably facilitated Nietzsche's later academic career.¹

If we now take stock of the extensive research on Theognis of Megara today, more than one and a half centuries later, there is not much left of Nietzsche's certainties.² For us, Theognis of Megara remains an elusive figure. Known to us through a large collection of poems called *Theognidea*, about fourteen hundred verses in all, he is nonetheless an obscure historical person. There are many vexed problems concerning the author's identity, place, and date. To start with his birth place: there is a lively debate among the ancients about whether the poet came from Nisaian Megara or from Megara Hyblaia, a Megarian colony in Sicily.³ Plato considers Theognis to be a citizen from Sicilian Megara (*Leg.* 629a-630c). Second, the date: ancient traditions date Theognis to the mid-sixth century BCE. On internal evidence, the *Theognidea* can be dated to the period 640 to 479 BCE. On the one hand, some verses in the corpus seem to portray a political constellation in the city of Megara that is analogous to the situation prevailing before the rise to power of the tyrant Theagenes – an episode that is dated roughly to the years 640-630 BCE (Thgn. 87-90; cf. 1082; 1084). On the other hand, some verses seem to refer to events as late as the Persian invasion in 479 BCE. The poet states that he fears “the Median army's aggression” and “the mindless, people-destroying strife of the Greeks”, who may not be able to protect the city (Thgn. 773-788). Obviously, the *Theognidea* are something more than “the life's work of one single poet”.⁴

Moreover, the reconstruction of the history of Megara at the time of the evolution of Theognidean poetry is most difficult. Our knowledge of the historical events that occurred during the seventh and sixth centuries invariably comes from later sources. The meagre evidence is mainly preserved in three authors: Aristotle, Plutarch, and Pausanias. The fourth- or third-century BCE writers of local histories – Praxion, Dieuchidas, Hereas, and

1 For Nietzsche's Valediktionsschrift, presented to the Landesschule Pforta in Saxony-Anhalt in 1864, see F. Nietzsche, *De Theognide Megarensi*. Nietzsche on Theognis of Megara. Biling. ed., trans. R.M. Kerr: www.thenietzschechannel.com (last accessed on March 3, 2018).

2 Cf. Selle 2008 for a comprehensive overview of research on the *Theognidea*. The contributions in Figueira and Nagy (eds.) 1985 deal with central aspects of the corpus. Cf. also Von der Lahr 1992.

3 Cobb-Stevens, Figueira, and Nagy 1985: 2-3; Gavrillov 2000; Selle 2008: 27-36; 246-253.

4 Cobb-Stevens, Figueira, and Nagy 1985: 1; Selle 2008: 21-27; 229-246.

Heragoras – were mainly concerned with Megara's earliest history and the foundation of its institutions. The few surviving fragments of their *Megarika* seem to suggest that their works did not even sum up to a sustained historical narrative of the sixth and fifth centuries. As a consequence, we are left with Plutarch's narrative about Megara in the *Greek Questions* which probably derives from Aristotle's lost *Constitution of the Megarians* (Plut. *Mor.* 295d).

These notices may be combined with the bits and pieces on Megara and its tyrant Theagenes in Aristotle's *Politics*. Aristotle regards Theagenes as one of those tyrants who took advantage of a political and military office in the aristocratic community, to seize control of the polis. He characterizes him, in typical fifth- and fourth-century terminology, as a *prostatēs*, who used the people's hatred of the wealthy to gain the support of the masses (*Pol.* 1305a7-14; *Rhet.* 1357b31-37). This hatred manifested itself, according to Plutarch, in several episodes of riotous behavior. After he had seized power, Theagenes is said to have mounted a spectacular action to seize the flocks of the wealthy. He had the animals captured and slaughtered (Arist. *Pol.* 1305a24-27). Both the exact details of this report and the general questions concerning the economic, social, and political issues, which lay behind these events, are much debated.⁵ Modern interpretations assume that the economic situation of the lower classes seriously deteriorated in this period because new market opportunities generated a new "ideology of gain", and the members of the elite therefore sought to increase their personal profits at the expense of the poor.⁶ As there is no evidence other than Aristotle's brief report, any interpretation of these events must necessarily entail some degree of speculation. Everything we know about the structural problems of the economies of Archaic city-states, and of the mentality of their elites, suggests that here, too, an individual aristocrat made use of the temporary support of the dissatisfied *dēmos* to enhance his own power. He did so at the expense of his peers, when

⁵ Okin 1985; Figueira 1985: 113-115; Selle 2008: 228-246. Cf. the (less than satisfactory) treatment of Megara's history by Legon 1981, and now the overview by Legon 2004.

⁶ Cf. now Forsdyke (2005: 74), who, referring to Plutarch, convincingly argues, "that the connection between riotous behavior and democracy is a construction of fourth-century anti-democratic ideology and that it is extremely unlikely that there was a democracy in sixth-century Megara." Cf. on the concept of 'ideology of gain' again Forsdyke 2005: 74 and 87, referring to Morris 2002: 36.

they pursued their own interests all too recklessly, and thereby destabilized the internal order of the community.⁷

The main methodological problem is to establish a relationship between the historical tradition of Megara, the information contained in Aristotle and Plutarch, and the content of the *Theognidea*. The standard approach has been to combine individual sections of the *Theognidea* with the few attested data in order to create a sort of political-literary biography of Theognis, who was the author of at least some part of the original and authentic core of the corpus. In the face of the mass of problems that result from the unsolved issues of authorship of the text, place and date, this approach is no longer feasible from a methodological point of view. Moreover, there is no reference to Theognis or the *Theognidea* in either the surviving bits of the Megarian local historical tradition or in Aristotle or Plutarch.

The absence of any comment on the *Theognidea* in these texts corresponds to the general lack of direct historical allusions in the poems. First, the main actors on the political stage, like Theagenes the tyrant, are not actually mentioned by name in the *Theognidea*. Second, there are no toponyms of the Megarid at all. Third, there are no references to subdivisions of the citizen body: the tribes, *kōmai*, and *hekatostues* – all of which are known to have existed in Megara – are never mentioned in the poems. In comparison with the evidence of Solonian Athens, this situation is particularly perplexing and indeed frustrating. Moreover, the verses of Theognis are not composed in the native poetic diction of Megarian Doric, but rather in the Ionic dialect, “a format which was suitable for transforming all sorts of local traditions and for addressing a pan-Hellenic audience”. One possible explanation could be, as Gregory Nagy put it, that all “local idiosyncrasies” in the poems were deliberately shaded over by the poet to make certain that the man from Megara became in fact “famous by all men” (Thgn. 237-254).⁸ As a consequence, we can only draw the conclusion that the poems do not constitute a suitable basis for a reconstruction of the history of archaic Nisaian Megara. They do not offer any

⁷ Cf. on Theagenes' tyranny Stein-Hölkeskamp 2009: 107-108.

⁸ Nagy 1985: 34-35: “The surviving corpus of Theognidean poetry represents Megarian traditions that have evolved into a form suitable for pan-Hellenic audiences.” Cf. also Figueira 1985: 113-114, 121-127.

information about the circumstances of the tyrant Theagenes' seizure of power, or about the concrete institutional set up of the system established in the wake of his fall.

In my following remarks, however, I want to show that this does not mean that the *Theognidea* are completely useless for illuminating archaic Megara. In my opinion, the texts do offer some information on the social and political structures of the polis, and, as it were, the collective mentality of its inhabitants. In order to remain on the safe side methodologically, I will concentrate on all verses addressed to Kyrnos, and the unsigned verses contained within the Kyrnos blocks. It seems at least plausible that these blocks were in their entirety excerpted from Theognis' elegies.⁹ I start from the assumption that the political system of sixth-century Megara was not so different from that of other Archaic poleis at this time: a relatively small group of wealthy families controlled public affairs through rotating public offices and a council. Recent research on the history of Archaic polis societies has highlighted the importance of competition within the elites.¹⁰ And that is exactly what I am going to argue: I want to examine the passages of the *Theognidea* mentioned before in order to first establish the concrete fields of action in which members of the elite competed with each other. Next, I want to explore what sort of prizes or profits they hoped to win and which strategies they applied to stand their own ground, outstrip their competitors, and, if possible, improve their position.

A close reading of the Kyrnos poems suggests that the members of the upper echelons of archaic Megarian society competed with each other on three different fields. The world of Theognis was characterized by a stiff competition for wealth, social recognition by their peers, and sheer power. Let us begin with wealth. Theognis' frequent claims that high and low have changed places indicate considerable social mobility, both upwards and downwards. The poet complains that "many base men are rich and noble men are poor" (Thgn. 315–318). In another poem he makes up a sort of balance sheet and draws a deplorable picture of the state of things in the city: "Kyrnos, this city is still a city, but the

9 Cf. on the authenticity of the Kyrnos poems Oost 1973; Patzer 1981: 198–202; Cobb-Stevens, Figueira, and Nagy 1985; Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989: 86–93; van Wees 2000: 52; Lane Fox 2000: 35–36; Selle 2008: 280–281.

10 Cf. on the elites of archaic poleis Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989; Donlan 1999; Duplouy 2006; Schmitz 2008; Stein-Hölkeskamp 2015: 186–206. Cf. on competition within elites in (ancient) societies in general Hölkeskamp 2014. The importance of competition in the *Theognidea* is also emphasized by van Wees 2000.

people are different, people who formerly knew neither justice nor law and lived outside this city like deer. And now they are noble, while those who were noble before are now base” (Thgn. 53-58). If the poet does not wildly exaggerate, some of the new rich were very poor shepherds or agricultural laborers living outside the urban center.¹¹ However, the concrete ways in which some individuals were able to acquire property, and how others lost their fortunes are far from clear. The poet’s lamentations “that others possess his flowering fields and his mules no longer pull the curved plough for him,” do not provide concrete information about the causes of this sort of loss, and the concomitant descent on the social ladder (Thgn. 1197-1202). Moreover, there are no general hints that fortunes were made or lost as a result of windfalls or agricultural disasters, and we do not hear of individuals who lost their wealth in trade or wasted it on conspicuous consumption. There are, however, many indications that property was won and lost as a result of civic violence and sheer deceit.¹² The poet claims that a great number of the citizens are driven by *hybris* and greed. They strive for wealth without limits, and even “a man who has the greatest wealth is still eager to double it” (Thgn. 227-232). They seize for themselves “prestige, success and wealth”, not even shrinking from “shameful or unjust acts” (Thgn. 28-32). The poet’s disapproval of this sort of shameless greed manifests itself in those passages in which he denounces this new ideology of gain on moral grounds:

“Whatever possession comes to a man from Zeus and is obtained with justice and without stain, is forever lasting. But if a man acquires it unjustly, inopportunistly, and with a greedy heart or seizes it wrongly by a false oath, for the moment he thinks he’s winning profit, but in the end it turns out badly and the will of the gods prevail.” (Thgn. 197-208)

As a consequence, he urges the addressee of a poem: “Prefer to live righteously with a few possessions than to become rich by the unjust acquisition of money. For in justice there is the sum of every excellence, and every man who is just, Kyrnos, is noble” (Thgn. 145-148). This well-meaning counsel is however counterbalanced by a spate of complaints

11 Van Wees 2000: 63. Theognis’ contemporary Anakreon tells us the story of the remarkable ascent of a certain Artemon to a rich man behaving like a member of the leisure class (F388 Page). Cf. Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989: 84.

12 Van Wees 2000: 62.

about the fate of those who have lost their property: “Poverty is the mother of helplessness”, and for a poor man “it is better to be dead than to live oppressed by grievous poverty” (Thgn. 181-182; cf. 373-400). Indeed, “to escape from it one should throw oneself to the monsters of the sea or down from lofty cliffs” (Thgn. 173-178). A man overwhelmed by poverty has to reckon with all sorts of setbacks in all walks of life. His inferior status makes him “powerless to say or accomplish anything, and his tongue is bound” (Thgn. 177-178; cf. 267-270).¹³ To sum up, the poet presents a society in which property was changing hands constantly, violence and deceit were widespread, and social mobility was extensive.

This atmosphere of instability and insecurity, which is evoked in these poems, was generated by the reckless striving for personal profit. This becomes particularly evident in those passages in which the poet describes the consequences for social life. Let us begin with the symposium, the drinking parties that defined and determined membership in the elite and internal ranking within this group.¹⁴ As property and social status were in permanent flux, there were no clearly defined closed circles that were part of these groups of symposiasts, or were excluded from them. Whoever had the necessary wealth to lead a life of leisure and to contribute his share to these social events was welcome to join. Whoever was not able to fulfill these preconditions was rapidly marginalized and unable to keep his place on the convivial couches. Frustrated losers, who were avoided by their former *hetairoi*, and who did not have access to the circles of prosperous drinking-mates, reacted by trying to formulate new criteria of elite membership and insisted on the prevalence of moral excellence and reliability over vile wealth. To drink with the *kakoi*, as they repeatedly affirm, perverts the meaning of socializing among friends, as the nouveau-riches drinking mates “are your comrades at the mixing bowls, but not when the enterprise is serious” (Thgn. 33-36; 115-116; cf. 641-644). The poet advises those whose membership is jeopardized to be careful and flexible. Naturally, it was important for young men to have access to the circles of the elite. However, during symposia it was prudent to behave with a combination of caution and mistrust. Therefore, the poet gives them the

¹³ Cobb-Stevens 1985: 160-161, 169-171; van Wees 2000: 65-66.

¹⁴ Cf. the contributions in Murray (ed.) 1983; Slater (ed.) 1991 for the symposium in Archaic Greece. Cf. also Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989: 112-116; Schmitt-Pantel: 2011; Wecowski 2014.

following advice, “You should get invited to dinner and sit beside a man who knows every kind of skill. Do not seek the company of base men, but always cling to the noble. Drink and dine with them, and be pleasing to those whose power is great” (Thgn. 563–566). One should steer clear of “a man, who is a friend in words but not in deeds” (Thgn. 979–982). Socializing with the *kakoi* does not bring profit: “For the base have an insatiable desire; if you make one mistake, the friendship shown by all former acts is wasted. Only the noble enjoy to the highest degree the treatment they have received, they remember the good things, and they are grateful thereafter” (Thgn. 101–112).¹⁵

It is not only the most ambivalent statements about adequate and prudent behavior during a symposium which indicate the precarious character of access to elite networks. Moreover, the poet’s disapproval of associations between the ‘good’ and the ‘bad’ manifests itself in his critique concerning intermarriage between the established families of the elite and the new rich. In archaic Megarian society, social climbers are assimilated into the elite through marriage, a practice denounced at length in several of the Kyrnos poems: “A noble man does not mind marrying the base daughter of a base father if the latter gives him a lot of money, and a woman does not refuse to be the wife of a base man who is rich, but she wants a wealthy man instead of one who is noble” (Thgn. 183–192; cf. 193–196; cf. 1109–1114). However, such statements should not be read as a rearguard action of an aristocracy of birth. In general, references to noble birth do not play an important role in archaic poetry, and, as Hans van Wees has rightly emphasized, Theognis discusses only marriage and procreation in his own generation, and does not criticize the demise of hereditary noble birth as a traditional generation-spanning criterion of in- and exclusion.¹⁶ Therefore, the elite of archaic Megara, as reflected in the *Theognidea*, was not an aristocracy in the classical Aristotelian sense, in which the established privileges of individual families were based on descent.

In summary: the poems attributed to a Theognis of Megara do not allow us to draw comprehensive and detailed conclusions about the social and political order of archaic Megara. Against the backdrop of the methodological reservations mentioned above, they

15 Cf. for the importance of friendship in the poems Konstan 1997: 50; van Wees 2000: 53–57.

16 Van Wees 2000: 52–53; 63–66. Cf. on marriage alliances Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989: 117–119; 225; Stein-Hölkeskamp 1997: 29–32 and van Wees 2000: 61–63.

just permit a cursory glimpse of a polis community in a state of flux: membership in the elite as such, and access to power and influence are the objects of a permanent, stiff competition between ambitious, as well as unscrupulous, individuals fighting for resources and reputation. The authenticity of concrete episodes, such as the one about the rise and fall of Theagenes, can neither be ascertained nor disproved by any part of the poems. However, the general image of the ambitious tyrant, who by means of some extraordinary action manages to emerge as winner from the eternal rivalries for a short period of time, is not at all inconsistent with the general impression of the mentality of the Megarian elite, as conveyed by the poems.

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Chapter 6

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“This City of Ours”: Fear, Discord, and the Persian War at Megara

When the Megarians recalled the Persian War, they focused on their own actions and experiences. The other participating states did the same. The resulting differences in how the Greeks remembered the Persian War have long been noted,¹ but hardly account for the full influence of the parochial on the commemoration of this manifestly Panhellenic event. In this paper I show that differences between local narratives of the Persian War were not limited to which party was praised and for what deeds.²

The Persian War stories told at Megara evince not only a self-interested focus on that polis, but also convey a tone and outlook that are characteristically Megarian. Very little survives of the Persian War tradition at Megara, and a complete picture of the Megarians' overall understanding of the war is beyond recovery, but a few salient themes can still be detected. Two such themes will concern us here: fear and discord. Both appear in connection with the Persian War in the *Theognidea* and feature in two later narratives as

1 The point was made long ago by Starr 1962 and has become almost axiomatic in the study of Persian War memory. See, for example, W. West 1970, Jung 2006: 225–297, Marincola 2007, Vannicelli 2007, and Cartledge 2013: 122–157.

2 The present paper continues and refines a line of argumentation I developed while examining the commemoration of the Persian War in the Plataian Temple of Athena Areia (Yates 2013). It also appears within the broader context of my forthcoming book on Persian War memory.

well. Together, these themes speak to a distinctly Megarian way of looking at the Persian War and shed much needed light on the parochial nature of collective memory in ancient Greece.

The Persian War in the *Theognidea*

I begin with the *Theognidea*. Two poems within that corpus make explicit mention of the Persian War. The first is a call for divine protection that ends by mentioning the war with the Persians briefly.

Ζεὺς μὲν τῆσδε πόλῃος ὑπείρεχοι αἰθέρι ναίων
αἰεὶ δεξιτερὴν χεῖρ' ἐπ' ἀπημοσύνηι,
ἄλλοι τ' ἀθάνατοι μάκαρες θεοί· αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων
ὀρθῶσαι γλῶσσαν καὶ νόον ἡμέτερον.
φόρμιγξ δ' αὖ φθέγγοιθ' ἱερὸν μέλος ἡδὲ καὶ αὐλός·
ἡμεῖς δὲ σπονδὰς θεοῖσιν ἀρεσσάμενοι
πίνωμεν, χαρίεντα μετ' ἀλλήλοισι λέγοντες,
μηδὲν τὸν Μῆδων δειδιότες πόλεμον (757-64).

May Zeus, who dwells in heaven, forever hold his right hand over this city to keep it safe and may the other blessed immortal gods do so as well. But may Apollo guide our tongue and mind. May the lyre and flute sound again a holy song. After we have appeased the gods with libations, let us drink, while speaking cheerfully to one another and fearing in no way the war with the Persians.

The invocation that opens the poem is put most emphatically to Zeus, but the other gods are also called to help. The nature of the threat is as yet unstated, and the prayer begins by presenting the danger in markedly general terms. There is no ambiguity about the recipient of divine protection, however. “This city” (τῆσδε πόλῃος) appears as the sole

beneficiary of the prayer almost immediately after Zeus is named.³ The attention of the poet then turns to Apollo, who is called upon, not to ensure the safety of Megara, but rather to oversee the present festivities. Music and drink fill the poem as the Megarians are told to enjoy cheerful conversation. But danger looms, and the poet ends by reminding the Megarians not to fear the war with the Persians (μηδὲν τὸν Μήδων δειδιότες πόλεμον). On the surface, the poet intends to purge the revelers of any negative thoughts of the war, but in fact achieves the opposite by bringing the threat very much to mind just as the poem closes.⁴ No longer is danger presented in general terms, as it was in the opening lines. Rather, the poet now defines the threat quite specifically.⁵ The choice of participle, δειδιότες, leaves little room for heroic illusions. Outside the festival, outside the exhortation of the poet, the Megarians are terrified, and the audience is not allowed to forget it.

Our second poem appears just a few lines after the first. Here, the poet devotes significantly more attention to the Persian threat.

Φοῖβε ἄναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπύργωσας πόλιν ἄκρην,
 Ἀλκαθόωι Πέλοπος παιδὶ χαριζόμενος·
 αὐτὸς δὲ στρατὸν ὕβριστὴν Μήδων ἀπέρυκε
 τῆσδε πόλεως, ἵνα σοι λαοὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ
 ἦρος ἐπερχομένου κλειτὰς πέμπωσ' ἑκατόμβας
 τερπόμενοι κιθάρῃ καὶ ἐρατῇ θαλίῃ

3 Hudson-Williams (1910: 223) argues that since Apollo, the patron god of Megara, is not invoked to protect the city, the poet cannot have Megara in mind (see also Carrière 1975: 173), but see van Groningen (1966: 293) for a persuasive rebuttal. There is, of course, no internal evidence to suggest that the city in question is Megara (van Groningen 1966: 293 and Selle 2008: 237), but the location must have been clear to the original audience.

4 Most commentators assume that the poet has no ulterior motives here and is simply attempting to lighten the mood of his audience (see n.11 below).

5 This poem has been compared to an opening prayer at a symposium, where the poet calls upon the listeners to set their cares aside (Hudson-Williams 1910: 10; Highbarger 1937: 98-99; Selle 2008: 237), but the specificity of the final lines in this poem stands in marked contrast to other poems of that sort in the *Theognidea* where the threat remains generic (e.g. 765-768, 1043-1044, 1047-1048, and 1055-1058). I follow M. West 1971 here and end this poem at line 764. Van Groningen 1966 and Carrière 1975 extend the poem a further four lines. If correct, the poem would then have ended on a general note. But specific mention of the Persians (now in the middle of the poem) would remain exceptional nonetheless.

παιάνων τε χοροῖς ἰαχῇσι τε σὸν περὶ βωμόν·
ἧ γὰρ ἔγωγε δέδοικ' ἀφραδίην ἔσορῶν
καὶ στάσιν Ἑλλήνων λαοφθόρον. ἀλλὰ σύ, Φοῖβε,
ἴλαος ἡμετέρεην τήνδε φύλασσε πόλιν (773–82).

Lord Apollo, you fortified the acropolis as a favour to Alkathous, the son of Pelops. Keep now the arrogant army of the Persians away from this city, so that when spring comes the people may joyfully send illustrious hecatombs to you while they take pleasure in the lyre and lovely abundance, in the dances and sounds of paeans around your altar. For I am truly afraid when I see the stupidity and destructive discord of the Greeks. But you, Apollo, graciously protect this city of ours.

The poem begins by identifying Apollo as a past benefactor of the city. Although there was a prominent temple to Pythian Apollo on the acropolis, he is not here invoked as the Panhellenic god of Delphi, but rather as an intimately Megarian one whose close association with Megara's founder, Alkathous, was enshrined in the topography and architecture of the city (Paus. 1.42).⁶ As in the earlier poem, Megarian concerns are narrowly targeted. It is not on Greece's behalf that Apollo is invoked, but on Megara's alone. After the invocation and request, the poet supplies a lengthy purpose clause, detailing the sacrifices and celebrations the god can expect if the city is spared destruction. The pleasant scene of future happiness is shattered, however, when the poet explains the urgent plea for help that began the poem: "For I am truly afraid (δέδοικ') when I see the stupidity (ἀφραδίην) and destructive discord (στάσιν...λαοφθόρον) of the Greeks" (780–781). It is recalled that future happiness is contingent upon Apollo's acquiescence, that the same people (λαοί) who intend to send hecatombs are now on the verge of being undone

⁶ Plutarch mentions a temple to Pythian Apollo located on the Alkathoean acropolis, which was incomplete at the time of the second triumvirate (*Ant.* 23.3) but had been finished by Pausanias' day (1.42.5). Pausanias also mentions two other manifestations of Apollo associated with this temple – Apollo Decatephorus (the Bringer of Tithes) and Apollo Archegetes (the Founder) – and although we cannot be certain which the poet had in mind, Archegetes seems the most likely given the parochial focus of the poem (see also Farnell 1977: 374 n.64). Highbarger (1937: 100–109) argues that the Apollo in question should be seen as Delian Apollo (see also Young 1964: 328), but there is no evidence to suggest that Delian Apollo was particularly popular at Megara.

by destructive, literally people destroying (λαοφθόρον), discord. Two possible futures stand in the balance: the celebration described in the purpose clause and the ruinous defeat feared in the final lines. Yet the poet and his countrymen are powerless to sway the outcome. Apollo alone can save them, not because the Persians are unbeatable, but rather because the Greeks have proven unreliable allies. The poem then ends in ring composition with another plea to Apollo narrowly focused on the city of Megara.⁷

The date at which these two poems were composed is an issue of some debate. Although both are preserved under the name of Theognis, a Megarian poet traditionally dated to the mid-sixth century,⁸ such an early date is hardly likely. Scholars have, of course, proposed occasions to match the traditional date. The initial conquest of Ionia under Cyrus also fell in the mid-sixth century.⁹ Some have even argued that an aged Theognis may have had the battle of Marathon in mind.¹⁰ But neither suggestion suits the poems particularly well. Both evince a feeling of desperation that is hard to explain if the focus of Persian aggression had been manifestly directed elsewhere. War may have loomed when the Persians disembarked at Marathon or perhaps even earlier when Cyrus conquered Ionia, but the first poem does not envision war as a mere possibility, “a war with the Persians,” but rather as a clear and present danger, “the war with the Persians” (τὸν Μῆδων...πόλεμον).¹¹ Moreover, reference to discord among the Greeks in the second

7 Hudson-Williams 1910 and van Groningen 1966 end this poem at line 782. M. West 1971 includes the next six lines (783-788) but notes line 782 as another possible ending. Since line 783 picks up a different theme and, in my view, disturbs the balance of the poem, I follow Hudson-Williams and van Groningen.

8 Most support some version of the traditional date and place Theognis' period of activity in the sixth century (Hudson-Williams 1910: 6-12, Legon 1981: 110-111, Gerber 1997: 121-123, Lane Fox 2000: 37-40, and Selle 2008: 21-27), but see n.14 below. There is also some debate in our ancient sources about which Megara Theognis lived in, Nisaian or Hyblaian, but modern opinion falls decisively in favour of Nisaian Megara (M. West 1974: 65, Figueira 1985: 123-128, Gerber 1997: 121, Lane Fox 2000: 36-37, and Selle 2008: 27-30). Certainly, the Persian War poems presuppose a location in mainland Greece.

9 Hudson-Williams 1910: 9-10. Burn (1962: 170) suggests a slightly later date to coincide with Darius' Scythian campaign.

10 Highbarger 1937: 109-110. This represented a change of opinion for Highbarger, who earlier agreed with Hudson-Williams and dated the poems to the mid-sixth century and Cyrus' initial activity in Ionia (1927: 148). Legon (1981: 163-164) accepts 490 as a date for the first poem but connects the second with Xerxes' invasion.

11 Selle (2008: 237), who dismisses the immediacy of the threat, tellingly refers to the war as “den drohenden ‘Angriff (πόλεμος) der Meder,’” and so adds an implication of distance wholly absent from the poem. So too does Carrière (1975: 173), who characterizes the war as “la menace lointaine.” See also van Groningen 1966: 302; Hudson-Williams 1910: 10.

poem would seem out of place before any concerted effort to resist the Persians in mainland Greece had begun.¹² Xerxes' invasion is the most likely occasion for both poems.¹³ Consequently, they were almost certainly not written by *the* Theognis, if ever there was such a person.¹⁴ It is not even clear that our two poems were written by the same person.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the poet (or poets) was a Megarian and likely a contemporary of the events described.¹⁶ As such, the poems provide a unique insight into the mood in Megara at the time of Xerxes' invasion. What is of more interest for our present purposes, however, is that the Megarians continued to find the commemorative narrative of the poems indicative of something they wanted to recall about the Persian War. For it is hard to imagine that two poems by one or more unknown Megarian poets would have survived if the poems did not have some purchase in Megara for years to come.

Both poems evince a clear focus on Megara. Despite the Panhellenic scale of the threat posed by Xerxes' invasion, neither poem is concerned with the fate of Greece generally.¹⁷ In both cases, the aid of the gods is invoked on behalf of "this city" or "this city of ours". The second poem goes further by citing Apollo, the patron god of Megara, and Alkathous, its founder. It also draws directly on Megara's experience of the war, inasmuch as the Megarians did in fact face a direct invasion of their territory on two separate occasions

12 Carrière 1975: 175 and Selle 2008: 236.

13 Scholars have now largely accepted that the second poem must refer to the invasion of Xerxes and more specifically the tense months between the battles of Thermopylai and Plataia (see Van Groningen 1966: 302, M. West 1974: 65, Carrière 1975: 175, Legon 1981: 106–107, Nagy 1985: 33, Figueira 1985: 122, Gerber 1997: 122, and Selle 2008: 235–237 with further bibliography). Opinions about the first poem are less certain. Van Groningen (1966: 296), Carrière (1975: 173), and Selle (2008: 237) doubt any firm conclusion can be reached; Nagy (1985: 33 n.2), Figueira (1985: 123), and Gerber (1997: 122) favour Xerxes' invasion, but provide no discussion of the issue.

14 Nagy (1985: 33–36) proposes a tempting conclusion that the historical Theognis is a myth, not unlike the lawgiver Lycurgus, and that the body of poetry that comes down under his name is simply a collection of traditional Megarian poetry; see also Stein-Hölkeskamp 1997: 22, Kurke 1999: 27–28, Papakonstantinou 2004: 6 n.2, and Selle 2008: 246.

15 Hudson-Williams (1910: 10) raises this possibility, but on the flimsy grounds that the poet of the first poem could not have been a Megarian (see n.3 above). Selle (2008: 237) points to differences of tone.

16 M. West 1974: 65, Legon 1981: 157n.1, and Gerber 1997: 121. I leave aside any attempt to identify an alternative to Theognis himself, but see Carrière (1975: 176) and Selle (2008: 246) for a discussion of the question. It is not impossible that the poems were written after the fact, but there is no compelling reason to think so.

17 *Contra* Nagy (1985: 36) who maintains that the poet "speaks of the Persian threat to Hellas" (see also Carrière 1975: 175–176). Nagy is, however, certainly right to note that the overall perspective of the *Theognidea* is Panhellenic, even if the present poem is an obvious exception to that rule (see Carrière 1948: 193 and Figueira 1985: 121–124).

(Hdt. 8.71.1 and 9.14). Nevertheless, the manner in which this parochial focus is conveyed in the poems can at first glance seem almost Panhellenic. Indeed, numerous Persian War commemorations from across Greece focus on the home polis to the near exclusion of all others.¹⁸ Several evoke patron gods or goddesses,¹⁹ and almost all draw on those parts of the war that most impacted the dedicating party.²⁰ Such elemental similarities within the Persian War tradition have left the false impression that the impact of parochialism was limited to telling a common Persian War story (the glorious victory over Persia...) from the perspective of the homeland (...that ‘we’ won). Against this backdrop, the attribution of fear in both poems and the identification of discord among the Greeks as the cause of that fear in the second stand out.²¹ As we shall see below, neither was a particularly popular theme when the Greeks recalled and commemorated their own achievements.

Fear and Discord in the Persian War Tradition

It is easy to miss how infrequently the Greeks cited fear in their own Persian War commemorations. Even a casual reading of Herodotus will reveal fear in abundance among those who united to defend Greece from Xerxes.²² Diodorus and Plutarch are more restrained, but still show the Greeks in a state of panic on several occasions.²³ We must,

18 The tendency of Persian War commemorations to focus, almost myopically, on the dedicating party is particularly notable in the surviving Persian War epigrams (e.g. ‘Simon.’ 11, 12, 16, 18, 20, and 24P), but it can also be seen in longer narratives, such as the speech of the Athenian ambassadors in Thucydides (1.73–74) or Isocrates’ *Panegyricus* (4.85–99). According to Thucydides, even the Plataians were capable of reconstructing the war around their own accomplishments (3.53–59). For more on this trend, see W. West 1970 and Yates: forthcoming.

19 A few examples will suffice to prove the trend: Athena at Athens (Paus. 1.28.2), Helios at Troizen (Paus. 2.31.5), Aphrodite at Corinth (‘Simon.’ 14P), Poseidon at Potidaia (Hdt. 8.128–129), Apollo at Delphi (see below), and Artemis in a later dedication at Megara (see below).

20 The tendency of the Greeks to focus on those events (generally battles) that highlighted their own accomplishments is best exemplified by Pindar (*Pyth* 1.75–80), who addresses the phenomenon directly by claiming that “I shall earn from Salamis the Athenians’ gratitude as my reward, and at Sparta I shall tell of the battle before Kithairon” (trans. Race).

21 The poet explains his fear with reference to both stupidity (ἄφραδιῇ) and discord (στάσις), but as van Groningen (1966: 301) rightly notes, discord here specifies the more general idea of stupidity.

22 See, for example, Hdt. 7.173.4 (Tempe), 7.183.1 (Artemision), 7.207 (Thermopylai), 8.70.2 (Salamis), and 9.101.3 (Mykale).

23 See, for example, Diod. 11.13.3, 11.15.2, 11.16.1–3; Plut. *Them.* 6.1, 7.4; *Arist.* 8.1, and 10.3. For a greater emphasis on courage and aggressiveness among the Greek allies in Diodorus, see Marincola 2007: 114–123.

however, make a distinction between historical narratives written about others and parochial narratives recalled by a community about itself.²⁴ The story of Delphi's miraculous salvation proves instructive here. Herodotus provides a detailed account and defines the mood at Delphi as one of abject terror. There the Delphians “fell into total panic” (ἐς πᾶσαν ἄρρωδίην) when they learned that the Persians were approaching, and “in their great fear” (ἐν δείματι...μεγάλῳ) consulted the oracle (8.36.1). After Apollo responded that he would protect what was his own, the Delphians promptly fled the sanctuary. Only 60 men and a priest remained, and they had no apparent plan of defense until the gods directly intervened. The arms dedicated in the temple miraculously appeared in front of it, thunderbolts rained down on the Persians, and two boulders from a rockslide crashed into their ranks. When the Delphians finally attacked, they did so against a Persian force already in flight and with the aid of two supernatural hoplites (8.36–39). The prominent role given to fear and divine salvation in this episode is certainly evocative of the *Theognidea's* Persian War poems, but when the Delphians themselves erected a monument to commemorate the same event about a generation later, they told a rather different tale.

μνᾱμά τ' ἀλεξάνδρου πολέμου καὶ μάρτυρα νίκας
 Δελφοί με στᾶσαν, Ζανὶ χαριζόμενοι
 σὺν Φοῖβῳ, πτολίπορθον ἀπώσάμενοι στίχα Μήδων
 καὶ χαλκοστέφανον ῥυσάμενοι τέμενος (Diod. 11.14.4).

When the Delphians drove back the city sacking line of the Persians and saved the bronze crowned sanctuary, they erected me as a memorial of war, the

24 Halbwachs (1980 [=1950]: 84) says of history that “the totality of past events can be put together in a single record only by separating them from the memory of the groups who preserved them...This procedure no longer entails restoring them to lifelike reality, but requires relocating them within the frameworks with which history organizes events.” Far too much has been made of the difference between history and memory, but what Halbwachs says here of history generally can still be said of synthetic histories (ancient and modern) that explicitly seek to craft a single historical narrative from multiple parochial traditions, as did Herodotus, Ephorus, and others. For similar conclusions about synthetic history, see White 1978: 58, Wachtel 1986: 217, Fentress and Wickham 1992: 152–154, and Cubitt 2007: 42–44.

defender of men, and as a witness of victory, in thanks to Zeus and Apollo as well.²⁵

The dread that paralyzed the Delphians in Herodotus has been ignored. The direct intervention of the gods is given only passing recognition as attention is directed rather to the heroic fight of the Delphians, who are the ones credited with driving back the Persians and saving the sanctuary.²⁶ Indeed, the Delphians seem to have been at some pains to eliminate any implication of the impotent fear that stands at the heart of the Herodotean version (and our Theognidean poems). Both the inscription and Herodotus' account obviously derive from the same local tradition, but the differences underscore the contrary tendencies of parochial and Panhellenic narratives.²⁷ Determination and heroism dominate our surviving Persian War dedications.²⁸ Longer parochial narratives show a similar predisposition.²⁹ The Greeks of this or that city-state were, of course, only too happy to point out the fears of others but were seldom interested in commemorating their own.³⁰

25 The stone itself was identified in the seventeenth century but was subsequently lost. Transcriptions made at that time confirm the accuracy of Diodorus' version, but also allow us to date the inscription on the strength of morphology to c. 400 BCE (Meritt 1947). Such a date would make the inscription a relatively late addition to the Persian War tradition, but valuable nonetheless for our present purposes.

26 The assumption that the gods would be credited for these actions was in fact so strong that Oldfather emended the text (1946: 162n.1; see also Green 2006: 67 n.61), but there is no sound justification for the change. The manuscript tradition makes perfect sense and is supported by the transcriptions of the inscription itself (Page 1981: 411 and Haillet 2001: 24; see also Mikalson 2003: 70–71). It is notable, however, that Diodorus himself provides an account of the Persian attack that still follows Herodotus quite closely (11.14.2–4).

27 For the Delphians as Herodotus' source, see Hignett 1963: 445–446, Sánchez 2001: 95, Asheri et al. 2003: 235–236, and Rösler 2013: 241–246. For more on the extent to which Herodotus could and did alter parochial narratives to serve his own larger authorial aims, see Thomas 2001: 224–225, and Munson 2005: 8–10 and 2007: 167.

28 The body of epigrams attributed to Simonides demonstrates this trend amply (7–24P). We might also consider other surviving or attested dedicatory inscriptions (eg. *M&L* 18, *M&L* 19, *FD* III.4.179, and Aeschin. 3.116) and indeed some of the more detailed descriptions of the monuments themselves, which also speak to a focus on courage. See, for example, the Marathon painting in the *Stoa Poikile* (Paus. 1.15.3), the columns of the *Stoa Persike* (Vitr. 1.1.6 and Paus. 3.11.3), and the imagery of the Athenian statue group at Delphi (Paus. 10.10.1–2).

29 Several extended narratives of the Persian War survive from Athens (Lys. 2.20–43, Pl. *Men.* 239d–241e, Isoc. 4.85–99 and 12.49–52, Dem. 18.202–208 and 60.10–11, and Lycurg. 68–74; see also Ar. *Eq* 781–786 and *Vesp.* 1060–1124), and of these only Lysias' *Epitaphios Logos* mentions any fear on the part of the Athenians (2.34 and 2.39), in both cases before the battle of Salamis. Yet it is important to note that Lysias uses fear to a rather different effect than do the Persian War poems in the *Theognidea*. Fear does not define the Athenian response to the threat. Rather it underscores the dangers they faced and the courage they showed by overcoming it (2.40). Plato's *Laws* (698a–699d) makes a related point about

Like fear, discord can seem at first glance a prominent part of the Persian War tradition. It appears with some frequency throughout the historical record and ranges from squabbles within the Hellenic League to outright medism.³¹ References to those who fought openly on the Persian side can also be found in contemporary commemoration.³² References to strife within the alliance are much rarer, however, and it is with this that our second poem seems chiefly concerned. Indeed, even if the poet has medism in mind, his focus falls on the internal strife that led to it, not the subsequent political alignment with Persia. In this respect, the *Theognidea* stands largely alone among contemporary narratives of the war. In his *Persai* Aischylos mentions the famous messenger sent to mislead the Persians on the eve of Salamis (355–360), but adds none of the lurid details of internal dissention and medism that are so central to the later Herodotean version (8.75.2–3).³³ The surviving fragments of Simonides' Plataia Elegy give no hint of discord among the allies, and Plutarch's later assurance that the poem was not biased in favour of any one state suggests that the whole maintained a similar tone (*Mor.* 872d–e).³⁴ Here again, Herodotus had a rather different tale

Athenian fears – that they compelled the Athenians to unite to defeat the Persian threat – but unlike the narratives cited above, *Laws* can hardly be taken as a representative work of Athenian social memory. For the relationship between representations of the past in oratory and Athenian memory, see Steinbock 2013: 94–96.

30 Of the works cited above (n.29), see *Lys.* 2.29, *Pl. Men.* 240c and 241b, and *Isoc.* 4.93 for the attribution of fear to the other Greeks.

31 The Greeks bicker before Artemision (*Hdt.* 8.4–5 and *Plut. Them.* 7), before Salamis (*Hdt.* 8.56–82 and *Plut. Them.* 11.2–5), after Salamis (*Hdt.* 8.108–110 and *Diod.* 11.27.2–3), before Plataia (*Hdt.* 8.140–9.11, *Diod.* 11.28, and *Plut. Arist.* 10), at Plataia (*Hdt.* 9.26–28 and *Plut. Arist.* 12), and after Mykale (*Hdt.* 9.106, *Diod.* 11.37.1–3, and *Plut. Them.* 20.3–4). We might also note the later disputes between the Spartans and the Athenians over the reconstruction of Athens' wall (*Thuc.* 1.89–92, *Diod.* 11.39–40, and *Plut. Them.* 19.1–2) and between the Spartan regent Pausanias and the League's new Ionian allies (*Thuc.* 1.95, *Diod.* 11.44.5–6, and *Plut. Arist.* 23). Medism is also prominently mentioned in Herodotus (eg. 7.132, 7.174, 7.233, 8.30, and 8.92), but less so in later Persian War narratives (see *Diod.* 11.3 and *Plut. Them.* 7.1). For a growing emphasis on unity and Panhellenism in our later authors, see Marincola 2007 and 2010 and Yates 2015.

32 For a discussion of some surviving allusions to medism in early commemorations of the Persian War, see Yates 2013.

33 For more on the differences between the two accounts, see Hignett 1963: 403–408, Masaracchia 1977: 193–194, Blösel 2004: 210–211, and Parker 2007: 8–12.

34 The passage in question comes from *On the Malignity of Herodotus*, and there Plutarch cites a part of the poem that praises the Corinthians to show that they had in fact contributed to the victory (in contrast to Herodotus' malicious assertion to the contrary). He then adds that "Simonides has recorded this, neither for a choral production in Corinth, nor for a song in honor of the city, but simply writing up these events in elegiacs" (trans. Sider). Boedeker (1995: 225) has argued that Plutarch's summation of the poem here suggests that it was not obviously biased in favour of any one party, and in this she is followed by Obbink (2001: 80) and Jung (2006: 235–236). We might press this conclusion one step further and conclude that Simonides likely avoided those episodes of internal strife that would later earn Herodotus' and Plutarch's ire.

to tell. There, distrust among the allies almost dooms the campaign even before it begins and ultimately leaves the Athenians, Spartans, and Tegeans to face the Persians alone.³⁵ We might finally consider the numerous Persian War epigrams that are similarly (and understandably) silent about discord among the allies.³⁶ Too many commemorations have been lost to be categorical, but it does seem that our second poem with its frank admission of internal discord remained popular at Megara despite a discernable tendency among the other Greeks to ignore such tensions, at least for the time being.

Fear and Discord at Megara

The emphasis given to fear and discord in the *Theognidea's* Persian War poems, though an anomaly within the overall tradition, is fully explicable within a Megarian context. This is not to discount the personal motives of the author or authors, but it is the social dimension of these poems that is of concern here.³⁷ Both were presumably written for public consumption. Their initial success and ultimate survival depended on Megarian audiences wanting to remember the Persian War in this way. Three factors explain why the Megarians would have found an emphasis on fear and discord particularly appropriate for a story about the Persian War. All were shaped by social and political realities specific to Megara. The first, and perhaps most obvious, is the Megarians' real experience of the war, which was not identical to that of their fellow allies. The second are the pre-existing social memories through which the largely unprecedented experiences of the war would have first been understood. Finally, we must consider the evolving political needs of those doing the remembering over time. The first two factors – real experience and pre-existing

35 The very question of whether there would be a campaign in central Greece was, for Herodotus, an issue of bitter and partisan debate (9.6–11). Once in the field, the League army was beset by divisions and rivalries. When the Megarians were attacked in a preliminary phase of the battle and required relief, Pausanias could convince none but the Athenians to come to their aid (9.21). The Tegeans and Athenians competed over who would hold the second position of honor (9.26–28). By the time of the battle, most of the army had withdrawn from the field (9.52).

36 The lists of allies at Delphi and Olympia do implicitly draw attention to those who failed to participate in the war by enumerating those who did (*ME&L* 27; see Steinbock 2013: 108), but the point would then be medism (or neutrality), not internal strife.

37 For the use of literature as a source of collective memory, see Fentress and Wickham 1992: 144–172 and Cubitt 2007: 48–49.

social memory – help to explain why the poet(s) would have constructed such a narrative of the war, while the third – evolving political needs – answers why the Megarians would have wanted to remind themselves of it years later. I examine each in turn below.

Megara's situation between Thermopylai and Plataia was indeed as grim as our poems suggest. Although it appears that a Hellenic League army was to have met the Persians in Boiotia after Thermopylai, no such force materialized (Hdt. 8.40.2). Most of central Greece medized and those few who did not, suffered their homes to be destroyed as they fled before the Persian army (8.50). The other Peloponnesians, now feverishly building a wall across the Isthmus, were of no use to Megara, located some miles north of that defensive line. As a result, proposals that the fleet abandon Salamis posed as much a threat to Megara as Athens.³⁸ Even with the fleet at Salamis, the full Persian army appears to have been headed for Megara before defeat at sea stayed Xerxes' advance (8.71.1).³⁹ The Greek victory did little to improve Megara's overall security, however. The Persian army under Mardonios retained effective control over central Greece, and the army of the Hellenic League continued to focus its efforts on the wall across the Isthmus. The Megarians still faced the possibility of a hasty evacuation of their territory if the League army could not be coaxed out of the Peloponnese. They soon joined the Athenians and Plataians on an embassy to Sparta to do just that (9.7.1).⁴⁰ An army was eventually sent north, but not before a Persian cavalry force raided the Megarid (9.14-15).⁴¹ Throughout much of the

38 Themistocles makes the point explicitly in his speech to the war council (Hdt. 8.60). Later Herodotus notes that the Megarians (along with the Athenians and Aiginetans) opposed the withdrawal of the fleet to the Isthmus (8.74.2). For more on Megara's position during these debates, see Hignett 1963: 191 and 201, Legon 1981: 165, Lazenby 1993: 158-166, Balcer 1995: 261-264, and Green 1996: 164.

39 For more on the movement of the Persian army immediately before the battle of Salamis and its purpose, see Burn 1962: 448-449, Hignett 1963: 205, Lazenby 1993: 166-167, and Green 1996: 175-176; Hammond (1988: 582-583) argues that the Persian army may have made significant progress on this occasion, devastating not merely the Megarid, but perhaps burning the Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia as well, but see Lazenby (1993: 219 n.10) and Balcer (1995: 269 n.52) who argue against this possibility.

40 Hignett 1963: 282-285, Legon 1981: 165, Lazenby 1993: 213, Green 1996: 229, and Asheri et al. 2006: 183.

41 Herodotus reports that Mardonios turned his entire army against Megara in the hopes of engaging an advanced force of 1,000 Spartans. The cavalry was sent ahead and it "trampled" (κατιππασατο) the Megarid before ordered to turn back. Hignett (1963: 291-92), however, doubts that Mardonios contemplated a full assault on Megara (see also Legon 1981: 168-169 and Lazenby 1993: 219). Asheri et al 2006: 191 may be right to attribute the inflation to a Megarian source, but that must remain conjecture.

war, Megara was exposed to attack and had good reason to feel abandoned by its allies.⁴² The poems of the *Theognidea* respond to this experience and understandably so. The Megarians were unlikely to popularize a story that did not engage in some meaningful way with their own experiences of the war.⁴³

The Megarian experience of the Persian War goes a long way to explaining the peculiar memory of the war contained within the *Theognidea*, but that factor alone does not provide a sufficient answer. Megara was certainly not the only city to fear a direct Persian invasion or to distrust the ramshackle alliance to which the freedom of Greece had been entrusted. The Delphians, for example, famously kept their distance from the alliance and, as noted above, survived (or at least claimed to survive) a Persian attack.⁴⁴ But their parochial commemoration of that attack was an emphatic tale of heroism. The Corinthians also had several notable disagreements with League policy and felt sufficiently under threat that they too preserved the memory of a prayer to their patron deity, Aphrodite.⁴⁵ This prayer was ultimately the subject of a dedication in the temple of Aphrodite at Corinth.⁴⁶ But the differences between the inscription that accompanied this dedication and the *Theognidea*'s Persian War poems are remarkable.

αἶδ' ὑπὲρ Ἑλλάνων τε καὶ ἀγχεμάχων πολιταῶν
ἔστασαν εὐχόμεναι Κύπριδι δαιμόνια.
οὐ γὰρ τοξοφόροιςιν ἐβούλετο δι' Ἀφροδίτα
Μήδοις Ἑλλάνων ἀκρόπολιν δόμεναι ('Simon.' 14 P).

42 Certainly, the Athenians felt abandoned in similar circumstances (see Hdt. 9.6–11).

43 For the impact of real experience on the subsequent formation of social memory, see Schwartz 1982: 396, Burke 1989: 104–105, Schudson 1989: 109, Irwin-Zarecka 1994: 17–18, Ashplant 2000: 34–36, Misztal 2003: 67–74, and Cubitt 2007: 206.

44 A negative attitude toward any resistance to Persia is often surmised from a string of disheartening oracles issued by Delphi on the eve of the invasion (7.139–142, 7.148, and 7.169; Hignett 1963: 439–447 and Kienast 1995: 124–126).

45 Herodotus' negative portrayal of the Corinthians and Adeimantus in particular may very well hide a genuine desire on the part of the Corinthians not to risk the safety of the Peloponnese on operations in Central Greece (Green 1996: 163–165; *contra* Salmon 1984: 253–256). If so, then they were overruled by the Spartans at the insistence of the Athenians, Megarians, and others.

46 The monument itself is wholly lost, but the inscription is preserved in three literary sources (Page 1981: 207–213).

These women stand praying inspired prayers to Cypris on behalf of both the Greeks and their own close-fighting citizens. For divine Aphrodite was not willing to give the acropolis of the Greeks to the bow-bearing Persians.

There is no acknowledgement of fear on the part of the Corinthians or the women who conduct the prayer.⁴⁷ The Greeks, far from being the source of potential disaster, appear along with the Corinthians as equal beneficiaries of divine aid. Finally, the Corinthians portray themselves as agents in their own salvation. Aphrodite's intervention is certainly decisive, but she is here represented as working through the "close-fighting" soldiers in the field,⁴⁸ and to that extent her role is reminiscent of that given to Zeus and Apollo in the Delphian monument.⁴⁹ The comparison between the Corinthian dedication and the Persian War poems in the *Theognidea* should not be pressed too far, however. Naturally, we would not expect a public monument erected after the immediate threat had passed to resemble the tone of an elegy written during the war, but it remains notable that while the Corinthians (and Delphians) white-washed their experience, the Megarians still wanted to recall the terrors of the war years afterward.

We move closer to an explanation when we account for the pre-existing social memories that had currency in Megara at the time of the Persian War. Much of this is beyond recovery, but the *Theognidea* itself gives us some sense of the impact local perceptions of the past would have had. Whether there was a real Theognis or not, the body of poetry that comes down under his name was very likely the product of a longstanding oral tradition at Megara.⁵⁰ Eventually, these poems would gain notoriety across Greece, but we might imagine that at the time of the Persian War their influence in Megara was rather greater than elsewhere. The Persian War poems obviously did not start as part of that

47 The identity of these women is an issue of debate (see most recently Budin 2008), but for our present purposes it only matters that fear is not attributed to them.

48 The reading of this word (ἀγχεμάχων) is uncertain (Page 1981: 211). Straight-fighting (ἰθυμάχων) and broad-fighting (εὐθυμάχων) are also possible, but in any case, the adjective yields the same implication of martial virility.

49 Mikalson (2003: 71) notes that fifth-century dedications to the intervention of the gods generally focused on human actions, but later singles out the Corinthian inscription above as an exception since it specifically describes the part played by the deity (2003: 214 n.222). While Aphrodite's precise contribution is certainly acknowledged in the second couplet, I would argue that the elegy still conforms to Mikalson's broader observation.

50 See n.14 above.

tradition, but their reaction to the war was nevertheless perfectly suited to the character of Theognis.⁵¹ The Persians are presented as a hybriatic force (στρατὸν ὕβριστήν) bent on the overthrow of the established order and so much like the κακοί who threaten Theognis himself.⁵² The stakes, as often, are the very survival of the city.⁵³ Nevertheless, the Megarians cannot respond to the Persian threat effectively, not through any fault of their own, but because their allies have failed them. This too is a common refrain in the *Theognidea* as Theognis is himself betrayed by his faithless friends or warns others to be on guard against a similar fate.⁵⁴ The causes of Megara's present danger, stupidity (ἄφραδὴ) and discord (στάσις), also find parallels in the corpus.⁵⁵ Theognis often reacts to his perilous predicament with fear or thoughts of revenge.⁵⁶ Fear, of course, dominates both Persian War poems. Revenge is less obvious but may find voice when the poet beseeches Apollo to “protect this city of ours” (ἡμετέρην τήνδε φύλασσε πόλιν). The concluding prayer echoes the one that opens the poem with the notable addition of the possessive adjective ἡμετέρην (“of ours”). There may well be a hint here that the god should save our city alone and leave the other Greeks to the fate they so richly deserve. The Persian War

51 For the coherence of a Theognidean worldview within the corpus, see Carrière 1971: 15–22 and 1975: 27–40 and Nagy 1985.

52 See, for example, lines 39–52, 151–152, 153–154, 287–292, 541–542, 603–604, 833–836, 1081–1082, and 1103–1104. For more on the hybriatic enemies who beset Theognis, see Nagy 1985: 51–63, Cobb-Stevens 1985: 159–160, Selle 2008: 253–271, and Fisher 2000: 99–100.

53 See lines 39–52, 235–236, 541–542, 603–604, 667–682, 833–836, 855–856, and 1103–1104.

54 Personal betrayal is a notable part of Theognis' autobiography in the poems (see lines 415–418, 575–576, 811–814, 831–832, and 861–864) and often features in his advice to others (lines 53–68, 73–74, 75–76, 119–128, 283–286, and 1219–1220). The poet is particularly keen to warn his listeners that friends are few in difficult times (77–78, 79–82, 115–116, 299–300, 641–644, 645–646, 697–698, and 857–860), which is very much the situation in the second Persian War poem. For more on the problematic nature of friendship in the *Theognidea*, see Donlan 1985; see also Gerber 1997: 123 and van Wees 2008: 6–7.

55 Discord poses a particular threat to Theognis' Megara (Nagy 1985: 41; see also van Wees 2008: 4 and Fisher 2000: 100). While στάσις itself is mentioned only twice outside of the Persian War poems (51 and 1082), the concept of civil discord also appears in lines 78, 219, and 390. Ἀφραδὴ is used only here, but the broader concept of stupidity appears frequently and is a recurrent cause of problems. See, for example, ἄφρων (223, 431, 454, 497, 625, 665, 1039, and 1069), κενεόφρων (233 and 847), ἀφροσύνη (230), ἀφραίνω (322 and 693), ἄσσοφος (370), ἀγνωμοσύνη (896), αἰδρις (683), and ἀνοίη (453). For the important contrast between knowledge and ignorance in Theognis' worldview, see Edmunds 1985 and Cobb-Stevens 1985; see also Carrière 1971: 16–17 and 1975: 30, Levine 1985: 180, and Figueira 1985: 130.

56 For fear, see lines 39, 541, 680, and 1081. See also Nagy 1985: 41. For thoughts of personal revenge, see lines 337–340, 341–350, 561–562, and 1123–1128. For the importance of revenge generally, see lines 361–362, 363–364, 689–690, 851–852, 869–872, 957–958, and 1087–1090.

poems certainly do stand out in many ways within the Theognidean corpus.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the worldview they convey is still that of ‘Theognis’ and, we might say, Megara.

The influence of the Theognidean corpus on Megarian perceptions of the Persian War should hardly surprise. When the Persian threat approached, the Megarians would have attempted to understand that threat and their response to it in the familiar terms of social memory.⁵⁸ The *Theognidea*, which had given voice to fears of a changing world in Megara for generations, was a natural place to turn. The Persian War poems were in fact so influenced by this worldview that they became part of this evolving body of oral tradition. But tradition alone does not dictate how the past is recalled. Indeed, Megara was not the only locality in Greece to feature a poetic tradition that emphasized many of the same themes that appear in the *Theognidea*. We might account for their impact in this case by citing the extent to which Megara’s real experience of the war coincided with these themes,⁵⁹ but such a solution would not explain why the Megarians continued to recall the war from the perspective of its darkest hour after the victory had been won. Ultimately, these poems were remembered, not because they perfectly suited pre-existing tradition or even the reality of the war (as the Megarians saw it), but rather because they continued to say something meaningful in the present.⁶⁰ There is surely an element of pride here. Persia was defeated. The fear had passed. Apollo had, in retrospect, saved his city. But a brief survey of Megara’s political situation in the century after the Persian invasion suggests that many of the anxieties expressed in the *Theognidea*’s Persian War poems remained painfully relevant.

57 Both poems are datable, late, and the second gives specific details about Megara. The rest of the *Theognidea* tends to present a more universal, Panhellenic picture (see n.17 above).

58 For the influence of pre-existing social memories on the construction of new memories, see Burke 1989: 100–105, Fentress and Wickham 1992: 130–131, Winter and Sivan 1999: 13 and 28, Ashplant 2000: 34–36, Misztal 2003: 67–74, and Cubitt 2007: 208–209.

59 Burke 1989: 104–105 draws particular attention to the importance of this intersection in the formation of memory.

60 For the importance of the present on the recollection of the past, see Halbwachs 1980 (=1950): 50–87 and 1992 (=1925): 39–40 and 119, Wachtel 1986: 210–211, Fentress and Wickham 1992: 40, 58–59, and 87–88, Assmann 1992: 40–42, Schudson 1995: 351–355, Nora 1996: 3, Misztal 2003: 56–67, and Cubitt 2007: 75–90 and 211–214.

Victory over Persia hardly provided Megara any real escape from the fears of invasion that stood behind both our poems. A little over a year after the Greek victories at Plataia and Mykale, the Hellenic League fell into abeyance as Sparta withdrew from active service and Athens took command of the new Delian League (Thuc. 1.94–96). The split was apparently amicable,⁶¹ but there were now two spheres of influence, and Megara was caught uncomfortably in the middle. This was not merely a geographical fact, but a geopolitical one as well. Megara had historically been aligned with the Peloponnesian League, but the strategy preferred by a majority of its members during the Persian War—a defense of the Isthmus—placed Megarian interests decidedly into alignment with the states of central Greece, most notably Athens.⁶² This realignment extended beyond the immediate threat of the Persian invasion, as the fate of Megara's Aegean and Black Sea colonies now depended on Athens and the Delian League.⁶³ When in 462/1 the Megarians were hard-pressed by the Corinthians, they acted on these new connections and abandoned the Peloponnesian League in favour of an alliance with Athens (Thuc. 1.103.4).⁶⁴ Security remained elusive, however, and Megara became the front line of a new conflict. Within a few years the Megarid played host to two major battles between the

61 So Thucydides 1.75.2 and 1.95.7, but Diodorus points to some latent hostility at Sparta (11.50). For more on the Spartans attitude toward the split, see Hornblower 1991: 142–143 and Badian 1993: 207 n.25.

62 See the discussion of Megara's wartime experience above. We might add that the Athenians volunteered to reinforce the faltering Megarians during a preliminary skirmish to the battle of Plataia (Hdt. 9.21–22), an act which must have created significant goodwill among the Megarian contingent of 3,000 hoplites (9.28.6). For more on the incident, see Hignett 1963: 299–300, Legon 1981: 171, and Green 1996: 246. If the Megarians' later engagement with the Theban cavalry rendered aid to the Athenians, as some moderns suggest (Hignett 1963: 338–339 and Legon 1981: 172), we might conclude that the feeling was mutual, but Herodotus give us no indication that the engagement had that effect or was subsequently perceived as such at Athens (9.69; Lazenby 1993: 244). Two later political disputes might seem to undermine the possibility of friendly relations between Megara and Athens after the Persian War. Herodotus reports that Athens objected to a Spartan proposal to resettle the Ionians in mainland Greece, which had the further support of the Peloponnesians (9.106.3), but Legon (1981: 176) argues persuasively that Herodotus is speaking in generalities here and that the Megarians were unlikely to support such a proposal. Thucydides (1.90) states that the Spartans objected to the reconstruction of Athens' walls largely at the insistence of their allies, but here again we would be right to exclude Megara from this group since the Spartans additionally proposed to tear down the walls of every city outside the Peloponnese (i.e. beyond the Isthmus), which would have left Megara at the mercy of a hostile and fully fortified Corinth.

63 Legon 1981: 179–180.

64 See Hornblower 1991: 161–162 with earlier bibliography. If there is any truth to the story that Cimon berated the Corinthians earlier in the 460's for their rough treatment of the Megarians (Plut. *Cim.* 17.1), we might posit some sympathy for Megara's plight at Athens before their defection from the Peloponnesian League (Legon 1981: 181–182).

Athenians and Corinthians (1.105–106) and was laid waste by a Peloponnesian army returning from the battle of Tanagra in 458/7 (1.108.2).⁶⁵ In 446, Megara defected back to the Peloponnesian League, and an army was dispatched for the protection of the pro-Spartan faction (1.114.1), but not before the Athenians launched their own punitive raid.⁶⁶

Megara remained a target of Athenian reprisals even after the Thirty Years' Peace put an end to open hostilities in 446. A little over a decade later, the Athenians passed the Megarian decrees, which in part banned Megarians from all Delian-League ports.⁶⁷ The Megarians were soon clamoring for a Spartan-led war against Athens (Thuc. 1.67.4), which finally came in 432/1. Again, Megara found itself on the front line as the Athenians invaded the Megarid at least once a year from the outbreak of the war down to 424.⁶⁸ What is more notable for our purposes is the fact that Thucydides expressly tells us that Megara's Peloponnesian allies offered no help on any of these occasions (4.72.2). As in the Persian War, Megara was left to its fate. The effect was devastating⁶⁹ and became only worse in 424 when the Athenians seized the Megarian port of Nisaia as part of a failed

65 For more on the Corinthian-led expeditions against the Megarid, see Legon 1981: 186–188 and Salmon 1984: 263–264.

66 Diodorus notes that after the revolt of Megara, the Athenians raided the Megarid and defeated Megarian troops dispatched to stop them (12.5.2). The date Diodorus assigns the revolt – 448 BCE – is incorrect (*contra* Green 2006: 185 n.27), and so his story makes no mention of the Peloponnesian army, but a memorial erected at Athens to the exploits of a Megarian sympathizer, Pythion, seems to relate the daring escape of the Athenian expeditionary force via Pagai upon the approach of the Peloponnesian army (*ME&L* 51). For more on the Athenian attack, see Legon 1981: 194–196 and Lewis 1992a: 134.

67 For the Megarian decrees, see the extensive discussion in de Ste. Croix 1972: 225–289; see also Legon 1981: 200–227, Hornblower 1991: 111–112, and Lewis 1992b: 376–378.

68 Unlike the yearly Peloponnesian attacks on Attica, Thucydides mentions the Athenian attacks on the Megarid only at the point they begin (2.31) and once again as they draw to a close (4.66.1). There is some discrepancy between the two notices. In Book 2 Thucydides suggests that the campaigns occurred once a year and consisted of either a cavalry raid or an invasion by the full Athenian levy. In Book 4, however, he speaks of invasions occurring twice a year and conducted exclusively with the entire Athenian army. The inconsistency might represent a change in Athenian policy during the course of the invasions (Gomme 1956: 93 and Lendon 2010: 476 n.9) or an attempt to downplay the importance of the invasions on Thucydides' part (Wick 1979: 2–3). For more on the invasions generally, see Legon 1981: 228–233.

69 In addition to the Athenian invasions of the Megarid, the Megarians also suffered from a blockade, much strengthened in 427 with the seizure of the nearby island of Minoa (Thuc. 3.51). Aristophanes gives particular voice to the suffering of the Megarians in his *Acharnians* (719–835), which was produced in 425. For more on the privations endured by the Megarians in these early years of the war, see Wick 1979 and Legon 1981: 229–233.

coup within the city (4.66–69).⁷⁰ The fears that animated the Persian War poems in the *Theognidea* and indeed the very reasons for those fears (discord among the Greeks) were not passing anecdotes of the Persian War past at Megara. Rather, they continued to define the harsh political reality of that state for decades to come.

The Megarian Tradition

The *Theognidea*'s Persian War poems stood at the intersection of three factors – the real experience of the war, pre-existing social memory, and present circumstances – each of which responded to social and political realities specific to Megara. The result was not merely a commemorative narrative centered on the Megarians and their exploits, but one that also conveyed a Megarian outlook on those events by yielding a prominent place to fear and discord. We can, of course, say with some confidence that the poems and their peculiar recollection of the war remained popular at Megara for a time, but there is good reason to think that the *Theognidea* lost much of its unique popularity at Megara by the end of the fifth century BCE, so much so in fact that Plato could doubt Theognis was even from Nisaian Megara.⁷¹ What then was the afterlife of this distinctly Megarian way of remembering the Persian War? To answer that question, we must consider the themes of fear and discord within the larger Megarian tradition, and indeed two later stories about Megara's role in the Persian War suggest that both remained influential there for centuries to come.

The clearest example comes from Pausanias, the second-century CE travel writer. Near the agora of Megara he identifies a statue of Artemis the Savior. Like Apollo, Artemis was closely associated with Megara's founder and was here honored, Pausanias tells us, for the aid she rendered to the Megarians when the Persians under Mardonios attacked the

70 For a discussion of the coup, see Legon 1981: 241–247 and Lendon 2010: 295–300. Nisaia remained in Athenian hands until 409 (Diod. 13.65.1; Andrewes 1992: 486).

71 Figueira 1985.

Megarid.⁷² The story obviously takes Herodotus' much shorter notice of a Persian cavalry raid as a point of departure (9.14-15).

φασὶ δὲ ἄνδρας τοῦ Μαρδονίου στρατοῦ καταδραμόντας τὴν Μεγαρίδα ἀποχωρεῖν ἐς Θήβας ὀπίσω παρὰ Μαρδόνιον ἐθέλειν, γνώμη δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος νύκτα τε ὁδοιποροῦσιν ἐπιγενέσθαι καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ σφᾶς ἀμαρτόντας ἐς τὴν ὀρεινὴν τραπέσθαι τῆς χώρας· πειρωμένους δὲ εἰ στράτευμα ἐγγὺς εἴη πολέμιον ἀφιέναι τῶν βελῶν, καὶ τὴν πλησίον πέτραν στένειν βαλλομένην, τοὺς δὲ αὖθις τοξεύειν προθυμίᾳ πλέονι. τέλος δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀναλωθῆναι τοὺς ὀιστοὺς ἐς ἄνδρας πολεμίους τοξεύειν νομίζουσιν· ἡμέρα τε ὑπεφαίνετο καὶ οἱ Μεγαρεῖς ἐπήεσαν, μαχόμενοι δὲ ὀπλῖται πρὸς ἀνόπλους καὶ οὐδὲ βελῶν εὐποροῦντας ἔτι φονεύουσιν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλούς· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Σωτείρας ἄγαλμα ἐποίησαντο Ἀρτέμιδος...τὴν δὲ Ἄρτεμιν αὐτὴν Στρογγυλίων ἐποίησε (Paus. 1.40.2-3).

They say troops from Mardonios' army ravaged the Megarid and intended to return to Mardonios at Thebes, but by Artemis' design night fell upon them *en route*. They missed the road and turned into the mountainous region. To see if an enemy force was close, they shot off some arrows, and a nearby rock groaned when struck. They responded by shooting with more zeal. Finally, they spent their arrows, thinking they were hitting enemy soldiers. When day broke, the Megarians came upon them and killed most of them since they fought as hoplites against lightly armed men who no longer had a sufficient supply of arrows. It was for this reason that they made an image of Artemis the Savior... Strongylion made the Artemis himself.

Pausanias later notes the rock itself on the road to Pagai: "a rock with arrows implanted all over it (διὰ πάσης ἔχουσα ἐμπεπηγότας ὀιστούς) is shown to those traveling to Pagai, if they turn a little off the highway. The Persians shot the arrows into this rock at night

⁷² Pausanias reports that Alkathous himself dedicated a temple to Apollo Agraios and Artemis Agrotera jointly (1.41.3).

once” (Paus. 1.44.4).⁷³ There is no good reason to conclude that the story dates to the time of the Persian War.⁷⁴ The only firm date is supplied by the artist, Strongylion, who was active in the late fifth or early fourth centuries BCE.⁷⁵ We might date the story to the same period, but it is equally likely that the version reported by Pausanias had changed substantially over the intervening five hundred years. There is no hint of an inscription, and the fact that the story begins with “they say” (φασι) suggests rather an oral or literary source.⁷⁶ The rock itself supplies even less reason for confidence. Whatever it was that Pausanias saw on the road to Pagai, it was almost certainly not a genuine artifact from the Persian invasion.⁷⁷ For our present purposes, however, it matters only that the story was popular at Megara when Pausanias visited in the second century CE.

The tale of Artemis’ divine intervention is immediately evocative of the second Persian War poem in the *Theognidea*.⁷⁸ Both feature a Persian threat against the homeland that could only be stopped by one of Megara’s patron deities. There are, of course, some obvious differences as well. Artemis has been substituted for Apollo. The focus has moved from the acropolis to the countryside. An impending threat in the *Theognidea* is reified as a

73 Pausanias goes on to note a statue of Artemis the Savior in Pagai, which was the same size and shape as that in Megara (1.44.4). Although it is reasonable to assume that this statue was also associated with the Persian attack in Pausanias’ day (West 1967: 188–189 and Gauer 1968: 124–125), Pausanias does not say so explicitly.

74 *Contra* Legon 1981: 169–170 and Green 1996: 234–235.

75 For Strongylion’s period of activity, see Lippold 1950: 189–190 and Todisco 1993: 42; see also Gauer 1968: 124.

76 Flower and Marincola 2002: 124. Piccirilli (1975: 134–136) adds this passage to a list of unidentified fragments from the lost histories of Megara (P5 F22), but since there is no mention of an author or title, such an attribution must, of course, be taken with a grain of salt, as Piccirilli himself acknowledges (1975: 136). Jacoby, more conservatively, leaves this passage out of his collection of unattributed fragments from the *Megarika* (FGrH 487).

77 Legon (1981: 169–170) argues that the stone was what remained of the battlefield trophy, but it seems incredible that a battlefield trophy would have survived over 600 years and be in the state Pausanias describes (see also Lazenby 1993: 219 n.10). It is, however, interesting to note that this was not the only stone at Megara to emit a deceptive sound when struck. Pausanias reports that a stone on the Alkathoan acropolis would make the sound of a lyre if hit with a stone (1.42.2). It had this property, according to Pausanias, because Apollo had laid his lyre on it when he helped Alkathous erect a wall around the acropolis, the very act of beneficence mentioned in the *Theognidea*’s second Persian War poem. Any possible connection between the stones, the twin deities, and the Persian War at Megara would be too conjectural to press, however.

78 Highbarger (1937: 110) recognizes the similarities but focuses on the differences to support his claim that the poem was written in reference to the Marathon campaign. Nagy (1985: 33) and Figueira (1985: 122) suggest that the events described by Pausanias may have inspired the Theognidean poem, but the differences noted below make this conclusion unlikely.

raid in Pausanias. The later tradition also gives the Megarians a rather more robust part to play and ends with the majority of the Persians dead by their hands. Nevertheless, the impotent fear that dominates the *Theognidea* still finds place in Pausanias' story. Megarian military action, though notable, appears quite late, only after Artemis has virtually neutralized the Persian threat. Before that point, the Megarians offer no resistance as this band of Persians ravages their land. When the counterattack comes, the Persians are almost defenseless. Without recourse to their bows, they face the Megarians at a distinct disadvantage, lightly armed men against heavily armed hoplites (ὀπλιται πρὸς ἀνόπλους). The muted role the Megarians assign themselves here is thrown into sharp relief if we consider again the tradition at Delphi. There too the Delphians sought to commemorate the defense of their homeland achieved with the aid of the gods. But whereas the Delphians emphasized their own bravery and military prowess, the Megarians continued to yield pride of place to the decisive intervention of their patron deity, much as the second Theognidean poem envisioned.

The story associated with the statue of Artemis the Savior includes no hint of discord among the allies. Indeed, the Greek allies are not mentioned at all, a notable change from Herodotus' version of the same incident, where it is the threat of the approaching League army that sends the Persians back into Boiotia (9.14-15). But indications that Megara's Persian War tradition continued to be associated with discord among the allies can be found in Plutarch's *Aristeides* (20). There the Spartans and Athenians fall out over the prize of valor after the battle of Plataia, and the altercation nearly comes to blows. But then a Megarian named Theogeiton proposes a compromise: "that the prize of valor must be given to another city, unless they wanted to stir up a civil war" (ὥς ἑτέρα πόλει δοτέον εἴη τὸ ἀριστεῖον, εἰ μὴ βούλονται συνταράξαι πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον: 20.2). A Corinthian suggests that the Plataians receive the prize, all agree, and the threat passes. There can be no doubt that the story is a later invention.⁷⁹ Leaving aside Herodotus' silence, the story's central premise – that the Athenians would have made an aggressive claim to the glories of Plataia immediately after the battle – is improbable on its face.⁸⁰ But in this case, we have

79 Flower and Marincola 2002: 232-233. *Contra* Legon (1981: 172 n.53) who suggests that there may have been an authentic core to the episode.

80 Our earliest sources for the Plataia tradition unambiguously assign credit to the Spartans (Pind. *Pyth.* 1.75-80 and Hdt. 9.71.1). Even the Athenian Aischylos attributes that victory to the "Dorian spear" (*Pers.* 817) and so to Sparta. The focus

little reason to suspect that the story originated at Megara.⁸¹ A Megarian is, of course, favourably mentioned, but it would press the principle of *cui bono* too far to suggest that every positive mention of a particular state must then derive from that state's local tradition. Indeed, the presence of so many states in the story – Athens, Sparta, Megara, Corinth, and Plataia – suggests rather a work of Hellenic or universal history. Nevertheless, it remains a distinct possibility that a Megarian has been cast in this particular role because it was thought wholly suited to Megara's Persian War tradition. If so, we might conclude that the concern over discord that animates the second poem was in fact so prevalent in Megarian social memory that even an outsider took note.

Neither the Artemis story nor Theogeiton's advice are exact reproductions of the Persian War narrative found in the *Theognidea*. The imprint of fear and discord can still be seen, but they no longer hold the central place they once held. This should come as no surprise. Fear and discord were only two threads in the complex tapestry of commemorations that constituted the Persian War tradition at Megara. The Megarians were certainly capable of telling more heroic versions of their past.⁸² Over time, those versions were selectively exploited, along with the themes of fear and discord, to tell new stories of the past that better suited the needs of the present as they continued to evolve. The results were quite different, but still suggest that the themes of the *Theognidea*'s Persian War poems remained influential at Megara long after the social and political realities that underlay them had faded away.

of Simonides' Plataia Elegy is an issue of some debate, but the surviving portions certainly emphasize Sparta's unique role (fr. 11.29-34 and possibly fr. 13). It is not in fact until later in the fifth century that the Athenians make any claims to that battle (Jung 2006: 291-295).

81 Sansone (1989: 196) suggests that the entire story may derive from "local tradition," largely because it does not appear in Herodotus or Diodorus, but he never specifies which locality.

82 Simonides praised Megarian seamanship, perhaps in his *Salamis* (PMG 629). So too does Diodorus (11.18.2; Legon 1981: 166). Both may ultimately derive from a laudatory Megarian tradition. For passages in Herodotus that may derive from a similar source, see Asheri et al. 2006: 191. The cenotaph erected in the Megarian agora provides a more certain example ('Simon.' 16P = IG VII 53). The placement alone speaks to the heroic status accorded these men in the Megarian tradition, and later sources speak of a hero cult. The accompanying inscription enumerates the major battles in which the Megarians fought. For more on this monument, see Page 1981: 213-215 and Petrovic 2007: 194-208. We might also add a funerary inscription honoring a Megarian who may have fallen in the Persian War (SEG 45.421; Grossman 2001: 98-100).

Conclusion

Xerxes' invasion of Greece is generally portrayed in deep Panhellenic tones, perhaps more so than any other event in Greek history. The trend is understandable. The Persian threat affected most of the Greek world and inspired the creation of a relatively broad alliance of Greek states to repel it. The war that ensued was fought on a grand scale and was subsequently commemorated at the great Panhellenic sites of Delphi and Olympia. When differences within this tradition are noted, they are usually characterized as a self-interested insistence that the dedicating party had been at the center of events. There is certainly truth in this observation, but the role of fear and discord in the Megarian tradition hints at something more. The Persian War narrative that emerges from the *Theognidea* is not Megarian simply because it cites the mythology, topography, and history of the city, but also because it betrays a Megarian way of understanding the events of that war. Even centuries later, these idiosyncratic themes continued to influence Megarian commemorations and so speak to something of the local color that defined the memory of the Persian War across Greece and throughout antiquity.

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Chapter 7

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οὐ κακὸς ἔων: Megarian Valour and its Place in the Local Discourse at Megara

In this essay, I shall explore the ways in which the Megarians' conduct during the Persian Wars formed part of their local discourse. Our evidence shows that for centuries after the war with Persia, Megarians at both a communal and private level were concerned to vindicate and to commemorate their contribution to the defense of Greece. Through an analysis of this evidence for locally imbedded Persian War tradition, I shall demonstrate that issues of military participation and performance constituted an important part of emic Megarian discourse.

The Megarian contribution to the Hellenic alliance against the Persians from 480–479 BCE was substantial. Our main historiographical source, Herodotus, records that Megara sent 20 triremes (implying some 4000 *nautai*) to both Artemision (Hdt. 8.1.1) and Salamis (8.45) and mustered as many as 3000 hoplites for Plataia (9.28.6). The accuracy of the figures notwithstanding,¹ the ancient historiographical tradition is consistent: the Megarians were integral to the defense of Greece. The monumental Serpent Column commemorating the Greek victory in Boiotia would appear to corroborate ancient literary

1 Cf. Legon 1981: 165–167.

accounts, since it lists (in order of the magnitude of each city's contribution) the Megarians seventh out of 31 poleis “who fought this war.”²

Whereas Megara's participation in the alliance is undisputed, Herodotus and later authors appear to have disagreed over the conduct of the Megarians during the war, particularly in the definitive engagement at Plataia. Herodotus concedes that, during the initial maneuvering of the armies, the Megarian contingent bore the brunt of the Persians' cavalry harassment at Erythrai, enduring taunts against and aspersions on their manhood, as well as a steady hail of missiles (9.20–21). Nevertheless, his account includes an appeal to the rest of the Greek army in which the Megarians threaten, if they are not relieved, to abandon their post (ἴστε ἡμέας ἐκλείφοντας τὴν τάξιν: 9.21.2) – an act that, in Herodotus' Greece, was considered the most disgraceful kind of cowardice.³ In the event, the Megarians are rescued by the valiant efforts of a mere 300 ‘picked’ Athenian troops (λογάδες: 9.21.3). In the aftermath of the main engagement, the Megarians – who take no significant part in the fighting – are among those Greek contingents who proceed, without any discipline (οὐδένα κόσμον ταχθέντες), into the plain, looking to opportunistically claim a part in Pausanias' victory, only to be badly mauled by the Theban cavalry (9.69.1–2). The Megarians thus suffer from the same lack of disciplined *taxis* that Herodotus says doomed so many Persians in their confrontation with the orderly Spartans in the same battle (9.62.3). Moreover, the Megarian troops at Plataia are cast among a number of other contingents who “perished in the battle without accomplishing anything noteworthy at all” (9.70.1).

The account of Diodorus Siculus of the same battle (11.30.3–4), likely based on the work of Ephorus of Kyme (fl. mid-4th cent.), is markedly different from that of Herodotus.⁴

2 *ME&L* 27; cf. Hdt. 8.91.1; Thuc. 1.132.2–3. A similar dedication at Olympia commemorating the cities that fought Mardonios at Plataia recorded the Megarians sixth (Paus. 5.23.1).

3 The moral imperative of the citizen-hoplite to remain in place ([ὑπο-]μένειν) is a familiar ethic that runs through literature from archaic poetry to fourth-century oratory (e.g., Tyrtaeus 10W, 15–32; 11W; 12W, 10–44; Aesch. *Pers.* 1025; Soph. *Ant.* 661–675; Hdt. 7.101–102, 9.55, 9.74; Eur. *HF* 159–164; *Phoen.* 999–1002; *El.* 388–390; Ar. *Peace* 1177–1178; Lys. 2.14–15; 14.15–16; Thuc. 2.42.4). For this ethic in Herodotus, see Hartog 1988: 44–50. For the stigma attached to abandoning rank, *lipotaxia*, see Christ 2004 and 2001.

4 There is general consensus that Ephorus is Diodorus' main source for his account of the Persian Wars. See Hornblower 1994: 36–38; Flower 1998: 365; Stylianou 1998: 49–50; Marincola 2002: 32.

Here, the isolated (μόνοι) Megarians withstand the full onslaught of the dreaded, elite Persian cavalry (τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν Περσῶν ἵππεῖς), eventually being relieved by an unspecified number of Athenian *epilektoi*.⁵ Crucially, Diodorus emphasizes in a parenthetical remark that “despite being hard-pressed in the battle, [the Megarians] did not break rank” (πιεζόμενοι τῇ μάχῃ, τὴν μὲν τάξιν οὐ κατέλιπον).⁶

The account of the Megarians at Plataia given by Plutarch in his *Life of Aristides* is consonant with that of Ephorus and Diodorus. In Plutarch’s version, the disposition of the Greek forces is initially secure along rocky and rugged ground, out of the reach of Mardonios’ horsemen – “except, that is, for the Megarians” (14.1). The Megarians, suffering heavy casualties, appeal to Pausanias, the Greek commander, for relief, but the threat of *lipotaxia*, explicit in Herodotus, is glossed. Plutarch’s Megarians simply ask for aid, saying they are not strong enough, alone, to repel the Persians (14.2). Moreover, their request is made to appear all the more valid when Plutarch has Pausanias notice that the Megarians’ position is utterly obscured from sight (ἀποκεκρυμμένον) by great clouds of Persian javelins and arrows.⁷

Discrepancies between Herodotus and Diodorus are also noticeable, if less pronounced, in their descriptions of the disposition of forces at Salamis. One significant difference is that, in the former, the Megarians are completely elided (8.45, 85); in the latter, they are given the important tactical post of the right flank since “they were reputed to be the best sailors after the Athenians” (11.18.2). Scholars have noted the differences in these historiographical accounts, but the implications of such disagreement for emic, local discourse among the Megarians need to be explored.⁸

The precise historicity of the involvement of the Megarians in the Persian Wars is probably irrecoverable and is, at any rate, not the issue I am concerned with here.⁹ What

5 For the Greek literary *topos* of the isolated and outmatched army facing down a menacing foe, see, e.g., Hdt. 6.106, 7.220, 9.27; Lys. 2. 20–24, 50; [Dem.] 59.94–95; Dem. 60.11.

6 The diction of the passage, which seems clearly to respond to Herodotus, may be Diodorus’ own or indeed that of Ephorus. On Diodorus’ tendency to closely follow Ephorus’ text, see Marincola 2002: 32; Flower 1998: 365.

7 The language is clearly meant to evoke the heroic stand of Leonidas’ Spartans at Thermopylai (7.226).

8 Noting the differences in the historiographical tradition, e.g., Marincola 2007: 119–121; Legon 1981: 166.

9 Cf. Green 1996: 267–268.

matters more for the study of local discourse is how the Megarians reacted to the charge of having played a rather spiritless and ineffectual part in the defense of Greece. One might presume that the historiography preserves competing local traditions about what had occurred, and it would be valuable to recover the Megarians' own tradition and its place in their discourses of identity.

Certainly, alternative local narratives of this sort existed.¹⁰ For example, the Thebans and other Boiotians devoted considerable energies to an historical reappraisal of Theban conduct in the Persian War period that was antithetical to the accounts circulating in Greek communities outside of Boiotia (Paus. 9.6.1-2; Plut. *Arist.* 18.4-6).¹¹ Plutarch's polemical stance in his essay against Herodotus and his impassioned efforts to redeem the Isthmian and central Greek poleis from the pen of the historian hint at the existence of a multiplicity of local narratives that stood in opposition to Herodotus. It is clear, moreover, that the role played by poleis in the war against Xerxes continued to be a subject of discussion and contention in the fifth and fourth centuries. Athenian public discourse in the fourth century commonly invoked the antithesis between Theban and Plataian reactions to the Persian threat (e.g., Isoc. 14.30, 58-59; [Dem.] 59.95).¹² What is more, on the international stage, invocations of the memory of a community's contribution against the Persians were a feature of inter-polis diplomacy. Some examples include: the claim in the Plataian Debate of the Plataians to clemency from the Spartans in recognition for their effort against the Persians (Thuc. 3.52-68); the antagonism toward the Thebans in the Athenians' dedication at Delphi of shields captured from Thebans defeated at Plataia (Aeschin. 3.116); the apparent exemption, granted upon appeal by a public inscription (*SEG* 31.358), to the Thespians from a fine levied against *Boiotoi* by the magistrates of Olympia for the offense of medism.¹³ Such invocations formed a part of what Steinbock has called inter-poleis "memory wars".¹⁴

10 Pausanias refers to "those who have written about Plataia" in a way that suggests a profusion of historical accounts (5.23.3).

11 Beck 2014: 20. These local accounts provide a rich, alternative, local tradition that is the subject of a forthcoming monograph (Beck). See also, Marincola 2002: 103-104; Buck 1979: 129-135.

12 Steinbock 2013: 120-124; for allusions to Theban medism in Attic oratory generally, see *idem* 101-103.

13 Beck 2014: 38-40; cf. Paus. 5.23.1-2.

14 Steinbock 2013: 84-94.

Such competing local narratives of the events of 480/79 seem particularly to be a feature of central Greece, where the presence of the Persians had resulted in actual or suspected cases of medism. Scholars have attempted to construct micro-histories of the Megarid during the war against Xerxes and to smooth out discrepancies between our main, evidently hostile source in Herodotus and others.¹⁵ Such an approach to the evidence, however, is fraught with difficulty and the accounts produced by this method are as open to challenge as Herodotus' own.¹⁶ However, by plumbing what distinctive Megarian evidence we have for signs of parochial responses to the war, we can hope to understand how this Panhellenic event represented a truly Megarian moment – an experience articulated and encoded through time by a distinctive community using a set of idiosyncratic and local memes.

Pausanias' account of the Megarid reveals a local interest in and discourse around the Persian Wars such as has been noted among Boiotian Greeks. He reports a story told by the Megarians of his day (φασι) that explained the dedication of a statue to Artemis Soteira for her help in an engagement with a Persian force within the Megarid just prior to the Battle of Plataia (1.40.2–3). Herodotus reports the incursion of Persian forces into the Megarid but makes no mention of any action taken against them by its inhabitants. In the summer of 479, Herodotus writes, Mardonios was moving his army from Attica to Boiotia when he received word that the Spartans had an advance army quartered in Megara.¹⁷ The Persian commander then turned his force around and brought it before the city, while his cavalry ravaged the countryside; after this, Mardonios withdrew to Boiotia (9.14).¹⁸ The prayer to Apollo for the safety of the acropolis in the *Theognidea* probably also refers to this traumatic invasion (775–777):

Lord Phoebus, since you raised the battlements of the acropolis as a favour to
Alkathous, son of Pelops, keep away from this city the violating army

15 E.g., Highbarger 1927: 147–153; Burn 1962: 509–510; Hignett 1963: 291–292; Legon 1981: 166–174.

16 Moles 1993; Marincola 2002: 20–21; on the historical reliability of Herodotus on the campaigns and battles of the Persian War, see Lazenby 1993: esp. 198–247 (Plataia).

17 For discussion of Herodotus' reliability on this episode and possible reconstructions, see Hignett 1963: 291–292.

18 Herodotus' keen interest in this being the most westerly point reached by the Persians in Europe should provide confidence in the historicity of the incursion into the Megarid, if not in the historian's cartography.

(στρατὸν ὑβριστὴν) of the Medes so that when spring comes (ἔπος ἐπερχομένου) the people may send you splendid hekatombs in celebration.¹⁹

The fact that the Peloponnesians under Kleombrotos had destroyed the road granting the quickest access to Megara from the south in the previous autumn (Hdt. 8.71.2) will have heightened the sense of vulnerable isolation so resonant in these verses. These lines, then, would seem to support the tradition that there was a significant incursion into the Megarid in 479, but the historicity of this event is not the prime consideration here.

The language used by Pausanias in recounting the stories of the Megarians is so redolent of Herodotus' Greek that it suggests a dialectical relationship between the historian's global or Hellenic account of the events of 480/79 and the local Megarian tradition. According to Pausanias, the Megarians claim that a Persian force ravaging near Pagai was confounded by Artemis and became lost in the hills at night. Concerned over a possible ambush, the Persians shot some volleys of missiles into the hills to discern the presence of enemy troops. Miraculously, the rocks groaned, tricking the Persians into thinking they were firing on Megarian troops. By morning the Persians had exhausted their supply of arrows and when the Megarians attacked, "because they were hoplites fighting unarmed men" (μαχόμενοι δὲ ὀπλῖται πρὸς ἀνόπλους), they butchered a great number of them (1.40.3). This language evokes Herodotus' famous description of Greek hoplites slaughtering Persian *anoploi* at Plataia (9.62.3). The term *anoplos*, clearly an ideologically charged antithesis to the citizen *hoplitēs*, strikingly elides the distinctive Persian arms that Herodotus describes elsewhere (7.61) and is used only here in the *Histories*.²⁰ Herodotus' depiction of the Persians as *anoploi* is extraordinary enough to have invited comment and criticism from readers in antiquity (Plut. *de Herod.* 43).²¹ Given the notoriety of Herodotus' Plataian *logos* and his distinctive depiction of the Persians therein as *anoploi*, it is tempting to read the Megarian story as a local attempt to claim a greater part in the defense of Greece than that allowed in

19 Cf. 778-788, 757-764.

20 Hartog 1988: 44-45; Marincola 2002: 217.

21 Plut. *Arist.* 18.3, too, appears to correct Herodotus' account of the same moment at Plataia; Plutarch's explicit mention of Persian equipment (wicker shields: γέρρα; daggers: κοπίδες; swords: ἀκινάκαι) is the only essential departure.

the dominant narrative by appropriating an element of that narrative itself.²² Even apart from any such inter-textual relationship, the narrative of the skirmish at Pagai clearly valorizes the victory as one of Megarian hoplites over Persian bowmen.

The story given to Pausanias by his Megarian guides thoroughly fixes the fight against the Persians within the Megarid and the hills of Pagai. Pausanias claims to have been shown by local guides some arrows still embedded in the hills. These, he says, appear to travelers just a little way off from the road (ὀλίγον τῆς λεωφόρου: 1.44.4). Regardless of whether these arrows seen by Pausanias were actual Persian War relics preserved from an historical skirmish or had been set up at a later date, what mattered about the perforated rock face is that it monumentalized what the Megarians themselves said about their own history. The rocks at Pagai served to mark Megara and the Megarid as the site of resistance to Persia both to future generations of Megarians and to those traveling through the *chōra* via the coastal road from the Peloponnese to Boiotia.

In the city of Megara itself, Pausanias had visited a memorial for the Persian War dead. Evidently not far from a sacred rock called by the Megarians “Recall” (Ἀνακληθρίδα: 1.43.2), they had constructed a tomb “for those who died in the invasion of the Medes” (1.43.3).²³ Adorning the tomb was an inscription, a late copy of which was found in Palaiochori (IG VII.53 = SEG 13.312).²⁴ This inscription purports to be a rededication of “an epigram for those who died in the Persian War and are buried here as heroes” (lines 1–2). The epigram that follows is predictably attributed to Simonides:

Ἑλλάδι καὶ Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐλεύθερον ἄμαρ ἀέξειν
 ἰέμενοι θανάτου μοῖραν ἐδεξάμεθα, [5]
 τοὶ μὲν ὑπ’ Εὐβοίαι καὶ Παλίωι, ἔνθα καλεῖται

22 That is to say, the inter-textual allusion in Pausanias’ report to Herodotus’ description of the decisive moment at Plataia serves to aggrandize the action at Pagai and to associate the Megarian hoplites there with the Spartans at Plataia, whose arms and dedicated hoplite *taxis* proved so effective against undisciplined *anoploi*. Questions arise, however, with respect to the nature of Pausanias’ account: we cannot be certain whether the terminology is Pausanias’ own, or that of his Megarian guides; and even if the latter is the case, there would seem to be no way to confidently fix such an inter-textual reference to an oral tradition.

23 Smith 2008: 16–17.

24 Cf. SEG 31.383.

ἀγνᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος τοξοφόρου τέμενος,
 τοὶ δ' ἐν ὄρει Μυκάλας, τοὶ δ' ἔμπροσθεν Σαλαμῖνος
 [...]

τοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ Βοιωτίῳ, οἵτινες ἔτλαν [10]
 χεῖρας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἵππομάχους ἰέναι.
 ἀστοὶ δ' ἄμμι τόδε <ξυνὸν> γέρας ὀμφαλῶι ἀμφίς
 Νισαίων ἔπορον λαοδόκῳ ἔν' ἀγορᾷ.²⁵

The verses pay homage to the Megarian efforts at Artemision, Mykale, Salamis and Plataia (lines 4–10). There is a line missing (line 9), omitted by the stonecutter, which some have posited may have attested Megarians at Thermopylai.²⁶ An alternative suggestion is that the missing verse alluded to the action at Pagai.²⁷ In either case, the omission is puzzling. One wonders why the Megarians would have passed over a chance to claim a place at any additional battle – especially Thermopylai – but perhaps the exclusion was somehow a part of a process of renegotiation within the Megarian community itself of the city's relationship to its past.

While the poem mentions several battles in which Megarians fell, it devotes the most space to Plataia and fixes this battle (ἐν πεδίῳ Βοιωτίῳ) as the place where the Megarians “had the courage to lay hands on the men fighting from horseback” (ἔτλαν / χεῖρας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἵππομάχους ἰέναι). This verse thus triumphantly represents the action of the (close-fighting) Megarians against the cavalry forces (Persian or Theban is not specified) as a critical element of the Greek victory. Such a claim, once again, clearly stands as part of a dialectic between encomiastic and deprecating accounts of the Megarians' participation in the battle in a wider Hellenic context. What is significant is that the epigram constitutes part of the story of the Megarians at Plataia that the Megarians told themselves. In the

25 While striving to foster the day of freedom for Greece and the Megarians, we received the portion of death, some under Euboea and Pelion, where stands the sanctuary of the holy archer Artemis, others at the mountain of Mykale, others before Salamis ... others again in the Boiotian plain, those who had courage to lay hands on the cavalry warriors. The citizens granted us this privilege in common about the navel of the Nisaians in their agora where the people throng. (Trans. Campbell).

26 Wade-Gery 1933: 96; Page 1981: 214–215.

27 Legon 1981: 173.

minds of ‘the Megarians,’ there was no question as to the veracity and momentousness of the Megarians’ fight against the Persians as reflected in the act of publicly inscribing the epigram. Whether the poem adorned a monumental tomb already in classical antiquity we cannot say, but the late inscription accompanying the epigram reminds us, “the chief priest, Helladios, had it re-inscribed in honour of the dead and the polis” (lines 2-3). It is the nature of such public inscriptions to reflect communal values and interests.²⁸

The ancient attribution of the epigram to Simonides is dubious, but *communis opinio* is that the poem is a genuine fifth-century work.²⁹ The poet³⁰ uses strikingly vivid language to describe the citizens of Megara granting the dead the exceptional honour of burial in the agora (lines 9-10; cf. Paus. 1.43.3).³¹ This language not only appears “novel and original,” recommending its antiquity to critics,³² but also grounds the reader in the topographical civic center (λαοδόκῳ ἀγορᾷ) of the polis. The phrase “the navel of the Nisaians” (ὀμφαλῶι Νισαίων), furthermore, constitutes the sort of epichoric reference that gave shape and articulation to the imagined community of Megarians.³³ The poem emphatically announces that the Persian War dead (or at least the focal point of their commemoration) are located “here.” Such a claim is in some tension with the testimony of Herodotus, who writes that the Megarians who fell at Plataia, at least, were buried there (9.85);³⁴ the usual supposition is that the tomb in Megara was a cenotaph.³⁵ Even if so, it is very significant to an understanding of the place of the Persian War in Megarian civic identity that the poem announces “our fellow citizens granted us public honour around the center of the busy agora.” Whether or not the *xynon geras* in the heart of the city actually housed the bodies of the dead, the construction of a monumental tomb (even a cenotaph) for the Persian

28 Beck 2014: 23.

29 Page 1981: 214.

30 Page suggests a western Greek poet, likely a Megarian, based on the form Παλίῳ (line 6) for Πήλιον, a variant familiar from Pindar (1981: 215).

31 Whether the ‘tomb’ itself was actually a cenotaph is hardly the point.

32 Page 1981: 215.

33 For the mythological connection between Megara and Nisos, see Paus. 1.19, 39, 41, 44.

34 Herodotus’ report is corroborated largely by Paus. 9.2.4. The burial of those who died at Plataia on the battlefield, however, need not preclude the repatriation of the dead from the other battles mentioned in the epigram. It appears, based on a Megarian casualty list dating from the 420s, that, sometime in the fifth century, the Megarians adopted a similar practice to the Athenian *epitaphios nomos*. See Low 2003: 98-103; Kritsas 1989.

35 Legon 1981: 173; Page 1981: 213.

War dead within the *asty* itself has important implications. Intramural graves, in most poleis, were reserved for founding figures – typically “semi-deified heroes” from the mythological past.³⁶ The placement of this special burial site, then, with the language of the accompanying epigram, works to incorporate the fallen soldiers of Megara into the very essence of the community alongside figures like Nisos. Moreover, that later generations of Megarians encountered the tomb and could identify themselves as ‘*ammi astoi*’ of the dead ensured that the memory of Megara’s contribution to the fight against Persia remained a crucial part of the fabric of Megarian communal experience and identity.

It is not only at the public level, however, that the Persian Wars formed part of the discourse environment of Megara. The recent publication of a remarkable private funerary stele provides unique insight into the manner in which *ta idia* and *ta koina* could be implicated in the creation of epichoric media. The large stele of Parian marble (153cm x 45cm) depicts in relief a nude male hoplite in right profile.³⁷ The otherwise naked figure is armed with a ‘Thracian’-style, open-face helmet and the iconic large *aspis* and thrusting spear of the Greek heavy-infantryman. Under his left arm hangs a sword suspended by a strap. The figure is depicted bending slightly at the waist, with his chest pressed forward and with knees slightly bent in a widening and forward-moving stance, giving the impression of a warrior poised for action. The severe artistic style suggests an early fifth-century date, probably no later than c. 470 BCE. The provenance of the stele is unknown, but an inscription accompanies the relief, identifying the deceased as Pollis, son of Asopichos. The letterforms of the inscription are distinctively Megarian.³⁸

36 Low 2003: 103. Cf. the first lines of the accompanying inscription: “for those who died in the Persian War and are buried here as heroes (καὶ κειμένων / ἐνταῦθα ἡρώων)” (1-2). As an indication of their heroic status, the final line of the inscription, appended to the poem, claims that the polis habitually “up to this time” (i.e., c. 490 CE) consecrated a bull to the dead warriors (line 14), though scholars have been dubious (e.g., Chianotis 2005: 165).

37 Malibu. J. P. Getty Museum: 90.AA.129. A high-resolution image can be found on the museum’s website: <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/13049/unknown-maker-grave-stele-of-pollis-greek-megarian-about-480-bc/?dz=0.4373,1.3236,2.66>.

38 Jeffrey 1990: 132-138; Ebert 1996a: 19.

The inscription is well preserved and easily legible apart from the first letters of the first line, which have all but disappeared where the stone has been chipped.³⁹ The damaged section has space for additional letters and uncertainty over the missing letters has led to two proposed readings. Corcella (1995: 47) reads:

I speak, I, Pollis, dear son of Asopichos, not having died a coward, with the wounds of the Tattooers, yes myself.

ΛΕΓΟ ΠΟΛΛΙΣ ΑΣΟΠΙΧΟ ΗΥΙΟΣ
Ο ΚΑΚΟΣ ΕΟΝ ΑΠΕΘΑΣΚΟΝ ΗΥΠΟ ΣΤ[]ΚΤΑΙΣΙΝ ΕΓΟΝΕ

Ebert (1996b: 66), restoring the first letters to ΑΙΑΙ ΕΓΟ reads:

Ο weh ich! Pollis, des Asopichos lieber Sohn (ich starb, obwohl kein schlechter Mann, unter den Händen von Brandmarken) war ich.

The reference to the mysterious ‘Tattooers’ is precisely the kind of epichoric or emic marker that speaks to a localized, peculiar discourse not easily intelligible to outsiders. A plausible explanation of the identity of *hoi stiktai* can be deduced from Herodotus’ account of the battle of Thermopylai. In the section in which he assigns praise and blame to the participants of the battle, he records that the Thebans fought alongside the Spartans only so long as they were compelled to (ἐμάχοντο ὑπ’ ἀναγκαίης) and that, when they saw the Persians beginning to prevail, they seized upon the opportunity to defect to Xerxes’ forces, claiming that they had medized well before the battle and had participated in the fight against the Persians only under duress and half-heartedly (7.233.1). Xerxes, we are told, accepted the Thebans’ claims after corroborating them with the turn-coat Thessalians and spared the lives of the majority of the Theban combatants. “These were not, however, wholly fortunate,” Herodotus continues, since the Persians slew a number of them and, on Xerxes’ orders, “branded most of the rest with the royal mark” (ἔστιζον στίγματα

39 A full text of the inscription was first published in 1991 as *SEG* 41.413. Thereafter, it has been published as *SEG* 45.421, and in Corcella 1995 and Ebert 1996a, 1996b.

βασιλῆα: 7.233.2).⁴⁰ Herodotus' anecdote is dubious – those Thebans who fought at Thermopylai were likely patriots – but the tattooing of captives by the Persians is probably genuine.⁴¹ Thus, the Pollis stele proudly displays a valiant Megarian, who resisted the Persians to the end, in contrast to those who capitulated, whether as medizers or as prisoners of war.⁴²

If the reference sets up a binary opposition between the *cities* of Megara and Thebes, as has been suggested,⁴³ it also works at a level even more intimate than 'Megarian.' The unique name of Pollis' father, Asopichos, suggests that this monument may have responded to some suspicion hanging over the family of Pollis in relation to the broader question of the Megarians' role in the Persian War. Potamonyms derived from the Asopos are common in fifth-century Boiotia and are well-attested in Attica, but outside of these two regions are rare.⁴⁴ I am not aware that to date anyone has commented on Pollis' peculiar patronymic, but it is eminently plausible that Pollis was the son of a Megarian *proxenos* to a Boiotian city. The implications of this for the self-representation of Pollis as a faithful and contributing Megarian citizen can thus be set in the wider Megarian/Boiotian binary and

40 Corcella 1995: 48. Herodotus also uses the term '*stigeis*,' a synonym of *stiktai*, to refer to men ordered by Xerxes to symbolically brand the waters of the Hellespont, which had resisted his authority (7.35.1). The historicity of the Thebans' surrender and their subsequent indignities has been called into question by ancient and modern critics. Plutarch singles out the episode for sustained refutation in his polemical essay against Herodotus (33). For anti-Theban sentiments in Herodotus, see 1.61.3, 7.132.1. For discussion of the Thebans at Thermopylai, see Buck 1987.

41 Buck 1987: 59.

42 In the fifth century, the branding of slaves among Greeks was common (Ar. *Wasps* 1296, *Birds* 760–761, *Frogs* 1510–1514; Aeschin. 2.79; cf. Hdt. 5.6.1–2) as was the marking of war-captives (Plut. *Per.* 26.3). The branded war-captive or slave was a kind of antithesis to the free and courageous citizen-hoplite, who died fighting in place rather than flee or submit. Plutarch, for example, expresses shock in his *Life of Nikias* that some of the Athenian citizens on the doomed campaign against Syracuse tried to pass themselves off as servants in order to escape their captors and received the Syracusan horse as a brand on their foreheads (στίζοντες ἵππον εἰς τὸ μέτωπον: 29.1). Nicias himself, we are told by Pausanias, was denied commemoration on the casualty lists from the campaign because he was said to have surrendered and was "condemned as a voluntary prisoner and an unworthy soldier" (1.29.12).

43 Corcella 1995.

44 E.g., Asopodorus, the Theban cavalry commander at Plataia (Hdt. 9.69.2); Asopolaos, a Plataian representative to the Spartans at the siege of Plataia (Thuc. 3.52.5). For epigraphic attestation within Boiotia and Attica see, *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* II, 11536–11540, 11543; IIB 22626, 37289. For a recent catalogue of Asopos-derived names, see Meidani 2011. Meidani does not include Asopikhos father of Pollis, but records only one attested fifth-century Asopos-derived anthroponym in mainland Greece from outside of Boiotia and Attica (CEG I.380: a certain Asopodoros from the Argolid [170–173]).

into the context of the ‘memory wars’ outlined above. The claim that the son of a Boiotian *proxenos* died “not having been a coward” (i.e., fighting as a stalwart hoplite) is consonant with the evidence surveyed above of attempts to assert the Megarians’ valiant contributions against the Persians, and for Pollis exculpates him of any particular suspicion to which he was subject by virtue of his father’s connections. This private commemoration, which speaks to Megarian experiences of the Persian War at multiple registers, provides an example of the dynamic interchange between the local and the extra-local.

The very act of commemoration (public or private) of the war dead in Hellenic culture, in which martial confrontation was viewed as a contest or *agōn*, was faced with an ontological problem. Commemoration aimed to praise the fallen soldier for his bravery and martial prowess but memorializing a man’s death in war meant acknowledging in some inescapable way that he had been bested in direct martial confrontation.⁴⁵ In the case of the fallen hoplite, however, this problem was obviated. By analogy with the Athenian *epitaphios nomos*, the hoplite’s beautiful death, dying *en taxei*, crystalized his *aretē*, providing irrefutable testimony that the dead man was an *anēr agathos*. Such sentiments are traceable not just in the fifth-century *epitaphios nomos* but to the earliest Athenian martial expressions as evidenced by an epigram from a mid-sixth century grave marker (*IG* I³.1200 = *IG* I².984) comparable to the Pollis inscription: “[He who] pauses and beholds your grave marker, Xenocles, the marker of a spearman, will know your manliness.”⁴⁶ There is just enough evidence contained in the *Theognidea*, presuming this is a genuinely Megarian artifact, to give us confidence that such a hoplitic ethos was also embraced by Athens’ neighbours, such as the inclusion of several lines of a poem of Tyrtaeus, which are generally regarded as the earliest expression of (if not the *locus classicus* for) the ideology of the citizen-hoplite (Thgn. 1003-1006 = Tyrt. fr. 12.13-16):

45 Arrington 2014: 105-123.

46 *IG* I³.1200: [τι]ς αἰχμετῶ, Χσενόκλεες, ἀνδρὸς [ἐπι]τὰς / σῆμα τὸ σὸν προσιδὸν γνῶ[σ]ετ[αι] ἐν[ο]ρέαν]. Cf. *IG* I³.1240: “...ὁὐκ ποτ’ ἐνὶ προμάχοις ὄλεσε θῶρος Ἄρες.”

This is excellence, the best human prize and the fairest for a wise man⁴⁷ to win.
This is a common benefit for the city and the whole people, whenever a man,
having planted himself firmly, holds his ground among the front ranks.⁴⁸

Elsewhere we find an original formulation not very different (Thgn. 865–868):

To many worthless men the god gives splendid prosperity, which is of no
advantage to the man himself or to his friends, since it is nothing, whereas the
great fame of valour will never die. For a spearman keeps his land and city safe.

For Theognis, then, just as for Tyrtaeus, the *kleos* of true *aretē* is earned by the hoplite who defends his city. Thus Pollis' monument on the one hand vaunts him and his fellow Megarians above the Persians and the medizing Greeks⁴⁹ and, at the same time, works to claim for Pollis and his family a place of distinction within Megara (quite literally if Corcella's 'I speak' is retained), distancing him from the taint of association with Thebes and silently exhorting his fellow *astoi* to emulate his model conduct in one of the community's chief defining moments.

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⁴⁷ Tyr. 1004 = ἀνδρὶ νέῳ.

⁴⁸ We need not concern ourselves here with the debate over whether the heavy-armed men exhorted by the poet are to be imagined as fighting in a closed- or loose-order phalanx (see van Wees 2004: 167–183; Hanson 1989: 160–189). Questions and debates surrounding the origins, development and mechanics of the closed hoplite phalanx do not detract from the ethos, which surrounds *menein* (see above, n. 2). Tyrtaeus' heavy-armed fighters are praised for not retreating, for their steadfastness and resoluteness. While they may be able to retreat, as van Wees has shown in his reassessment of the putative archaic phalanx, they are exhorted not to, and the poems, as they are preserved (indeed perhaps especially due to Athenian and Megarian fascination), display a martial code or ethos which governs the *panoploi* according to which flight is shameful (αἰσχρὴς δὲ φυγῆς: cf. Tyr. 10.17).

⁴⁹ Corcella 1995.

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Chapter 8

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Megarians' Tears: Localism and Dislocation in the *Megarika*

Those who weep through compulsion or without genuine emotion, explains the paremiographer Zenobios, shed 'Megarians' Tears'. He offers two etiologies, the first historical, the second horticultural (5.8):

They say that Bakchios, a Corinthian, married the daughter of Klytios, king of the Megarians, and that when she died the Megarians were forced by Klytios to send young women and men to Corinth to mourn for his daughter. Others say, however, that a great deal of garlic is reputed to grow in the land of the Megarians, for which reason the proverb is applied to those who weep disingenuously, since those who have eaten a lot of garlic shed tears continuously from its pungency. So tears that come not from feelings nor from depth but from the surface they call 'Megarians' Tears'.¹

1 Μεγαρέων δάκρυα: αὕτη τέτακται ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸς βίαν δακρύνοντων, καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ οἰκείῳ πάθει. Λέγουσι γὰρ Βάκχιόν τινα Κορίνθιον γῆμαι τὴν Κλυτίου τοῦ Μεγαρέων βασιλέως θυγατέρα· ἥς ἀποθανούσης, ἀναγκασθῆναι τοὺς Μεγαρέας ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλυτίου πέμπειν παρθένους καὶ ἡιθέους εἰς Κόρινθον τοὺς μέλλοντας αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα καταθρηνῆσειν. Οἱ δέ φασιν, ὅτι πλεῖστα δοκεῖ φύεσθαι ἐν τῇ Μεγαρέων σκόροδα· ἔνθεν τὴν παροιμίαν εἰρῆσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν προσποιητῶς δακρύνοντων, παρόσον οἱ ἐμπιπλάμενοι τῶν σκορόδων ἀποδακρύουσι συνεχῶς ὑπὸ τῆς δριμύτητος. "Ὅθεν τὰ μὴ ἐκ παθῶν μηδὲ ἐκ βάθους δάκρυα, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς, Μεγαρέων δάκρυα ἔλεγον.

The expression serves as a good starting point for a study of Megarian local historiography not because it suggests the frustration that attends any scrutiny of the *Megarika* – the tears one sheds in trying to marshal these meager fragments are quite sincere – but rather because, together with Zenobios's commentary, it helps to foreground two themes that recur with some frequency in Megarian cultural memory. On the one hand, tears: the Megarians' constitutive narrative is punctuated by scenes of death, burial, and lamentation, forced or otherwise. On the other hand, tensions with nearby poleis: Megara framed its past to a large extent by its interactions with its neighbours, Corinth, along with Argos and Sikyon, on one side and Athens and Boiotia on the other.

Zenobios, who compiled his three books of proverbs at Rome under the emperor Hadrian, offers one of the fullest but by no means the only explanation of 'Megarians' Tears'.² Our earliest discussion comes, in fact, from the Atthidographer Demon,³ who wrote a compendium of proverbs around the end of the fourth century BCE and who interpreted another phrase, 'Korinthos son of Zeus', by drawing on a similar nexus of traditions as would Zenobios for 'Megarians' Tears' (*FGrH* 327 F19).⁴ Megara was originally a colony of Corinth, Demon explained, and once so much under Corinthian sway that every time one of the Bacchiads died, Megarians were compelled to travel to Corinth and publicly grieve over the corpse. Gradually, however, the Megarians began to gain in strength and

2 For Zenobios, whose collection of proverbs drew primarily on the earlier work of Loukillos of Tarrha and Didymos (*Suda* Z73), see Bühler 1987: 33–38.

3 Indeed, the expression was itself probably Athenian in origin: a fragment, perhaps, of Attic comedy (Kock 1880: F872) related to what was perceived as manipulative yet ultimately bootless whining following Athenian legislation against Megara in the 430s BCE.

4 = *Schol.* Pind., *Nem.* 7.155b: παροιμία ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ λεγόντων ὁ Διὸς Κόρινθος δοκεῖ οὖν ἀπὸ τοιοῦτου τινὸς εἰρῆσθαι ἢ παροιμία· Μεγαρέας φασὶ Κορινθίων ἀποίκους, καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Κορινθίοις κατ' ἰσχὺν τῆς πόλεως ὑπέκειν. ἄλλα τε γὰρ πλείονα τοὺς Κορινθίους προστάσσειν, καὶ τῶν Βακχιαδῶν εἴ τις τελευτήσαι (διώκουν δὲ οὗτοι τὴν πόλιν), ἔδει Μεγαρέων ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐλθόντας εἰς Κόρινθον συγκεδεύειν τὸν νεκρὸν [τῶν Βακχιαδῶν]. ὥς δὲ ὕβρεως οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπον οἱ Κορινθιοί, τὰ δὲ τῶν Μεγαρέων ἔρρωτο, καὶ πρὸς ἐλπίσι τοῦ μηδὲν παθεῖν ἀποστάντας αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἀφεῖναι, πέμπουσι δὴ <τα> πρέσβεις οἱ Κορινθιοί κατηγορήσαντας τῶν Μεγαρέων, οἱ προσελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ διεξῆλθον καὶ τέλος ὅτι δικαίως <ἄν> στενάξειεν ἐπὶ τοῖς γενομένοις ὁ Διὸς Κόρινθος, εἰ μὴ λήψοιτο δίκην παρ' αὐτῶν. ἐφ' οἷς παροξυνθέντες οἱ Μεγαρεῖς τοὺς <τε> πρέσβεις <παραχρήμα> λίθοις ἔβαλον· καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐπιβοη<θη>σάντων τινῶν τοῖς Κορινθίοις, καὶ μάχης γενομένης νικήσαντες, φυγῇ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀποχωρούντων, ἐφεπόμενοι καὶ κτείνοντες ἅμα παίειν, <ἀλλήλοισ> τὸν Διὸς Κόρινθος ἐκέλευον. ὅθεν φησὶν ὁ Δήμων, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄγαν <μὲν ὑπὲρ>σεμνυνομένων, κακῶς <δὲ>καὶ δειλῶς ἀπαλλαττόντων, τὴν παροιμίαν ταύτην τετάχθαι.

autonomy; and when the Corinthians complained – “Korinthos son of Zeus”, they said, would “sigh” at this new state of affairs –, the Megarians took a stand and drove their oppressors away, adding insult to injury in the ensuing battle by encouraging one another to attack and kill ‘Korinthos son of Zeus’. The expression that concerns Demon here has nothing strictly to do with Megara; already by the time of Pindar (*Nem.* 7.155b) it apparently referred to idle repetition or tiresome drivel, as if the Corinthians were known for belaboring the dubious divinity of their eponym.⁵ Yet Demon chose to expound ‘Korinthos son of Zeus’ not simply through the obvious rubric of Corinth but by bringing Megara into the mix as well, by positing a period of Megarian subjugation and an uprising whose success was capped off by the commandeering of a Corinthian tag.⁶ In so doing, Demon highlights a common Megarian maneuver, or at any rate a maneuver commonly identified in Megarian tradition: the repackaging of outside and often hostile material (in this case the Corinthians’ taunt) for local use.

The circumstances that Demon adduced to explain the forced weeping of the Megarians, we see, differ markedly from those later forwarded by Zenobios. In Zenobios’s account, the tears are compelled at the behest not of Corinthians but of the Megarians’ own king, the otherwise unknown Klytios. The variation offers us another example of Megarian appropriation, yet in this case of a different order; for here it is not the Megarians as protagonists who co-opt outside material but the paremiographer himself, taking initiative away from Corinth and assigning it to Megara. Zenobios’s contemporary Diogenianos also emphasized Megarian agency in his discussion of the proverb, but he took the process a step further, generalizing the scenario and relocating the action entirely to Megara. Whenever any Megarian king died, he reasoned, his wife would oblige the populace to grieve for him.⁷ Later Byzantine paremiologists took a different tack, with Photios and the

5 For other explanations of ‘Korinthos son of Zeus’, see Zen. 3.21; *Schol.* Pind. *Nem.* 7.155a; *Schol.* Aristoph. *Ran.* 439; *Schol.* Pl. *Euthyd.* 292 (= Ephor. *FGrH* 70 F19); Pausan. Att. Δ17; Tim. Soph. Δ983a; and *Suda* Δ1207 (but cf. *Suda* O40). See the commentary of Jacoby 1954: 217–218.

6 For the historicity of Corinthian rule over Megara, possible but by no means certain, see Hanell 1934: 75–91; Salmon 1972: 197–198; Legon 1981: 60–70; and Parker, ‘Ephoros (70)’, commentary to F19, in *BNJ*.

7 6.34: Μεγαρέων δάκρυα: ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸς βίαν δακρυόντων. Τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντος ἠναγκάσθησαν πάντες ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς δακρῦσαι. Ὁμοία τῇ, Πρὸς σῆμα μητριᾶς θρηνεῖν.

Suda removing the element of abasement altogether and linking the weeping solely to garlic, which the Megarid allegedly produced in spades.⁸

Can we detect a gradual localization and adulteration of the explanations offered for 'Megarians' Tears' from Demon onwards, with a putative phase of foreign domination supplanted by the authority of local kings and an act of degradation by a harmless response to local crops?⁹ There are, of course, difficulties with using 'Megarians' Tears' and its etiology to map the contours of Megarian cultural memory.¹⁰ Nevertheless, it is not unreasonable to see the Megarians as themselves partly responsible for effacing or reinterpreting an early period of dependence to Corinth, whatever its historicity, and even for obscuring the ignominy of forced weeping altogether. Just as the Megarians in Demon's story seize upon the Corinthian slogan 'Korinthos son of Zeus' and turn it on its head, so too might the historical Megarians in and after the late fifth century BCE have reinterpreted insults about crocodile tears and garlic and repurposed slanderous rumors associated with these insults, with the resulting traditions eventually finding their way into Megarian local historiography and thence to Zenobios. It is just this sort of pirating and sanitizing of hostile traditions, after all, that Plutarch imputes to the Megarians; by whitewashing the character of Skiron, he remarks in his *Life of Theseus*, Megarian

8 Phot. M172: ἐπεὶ πλεῖστα ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι σκόροδα φύεται, εἰς παροιμίαν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τῶν προσποητῶς δακρύνωντων. *Suda* M383 (Adler): Μεγαρέων δάκρυα: ἐπεὶ πλεῖστα ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι σκόροδα φύεται, εἰς παροιμίαν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τῶν προσποητῶς καὶ πρὸς βίαν δακρύνωντων, καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ οἰκείῳ πάθει. Μεγαρεύς, ἡ εὐθεΐα. See also Hesych. M484 and Mak. Chrysokeph. 5.88.

9 This is essentially the assessment of van Wees (2003: 62–63), who suggests in his essay on helotage that “These later versions [of the explanation of 'Megarians' Tears'] are easily understood as attempts to clean up the earlier story, from a Megarian point of view, by removing the stigma of once having been so humiliated by their neighbours”; but cf. Salmon 1972: 192 and Figueira 1985a: 264 (Diogenianos's account, Figueira suggests, is not localizing but in fact 'banalizing' and “perhaps a result of careless abbreviation”).

10 For one thing, the garlic is not purely a Byzantine addition; Zenobios, as we have seen, already mentions it as a possible culprit, and Megara's special claim to the vegetable had been proposed as long ago as Aristophanes (e.g. *Acharn.* 515–538 and 755–770). Not all late sources, moreover, prioritize the garlic to the exclusion of other explanations; in the fifteenth century, Michael Apostolius is still admitting that 'Megarians' Tears' might have something to do with a dead Megarian king (11.10). Any hypothetical Megarian reaction to the story preserved by Demon about a period of Corinthian domination, finally, would surely have surfaced well before Zenobios, with changes in Megarian memory unlikely to have aligned themselves so neatly to the protracted development of the paremiology between Demon and Photios.

historians “attacked tradition” and “made war on the past” (*Thes.* 10):¹¹ Skiron was not a highwayman, insist ‘the historians from Megara’, but a punisher of highwaymen (*FGrH* 487 F1).¹² It is perhaps no coincidence that the figure whom Plutarch, and indeed many subsequent discussions of Megarian tradition, tout as a symbol of Megarian revisionism is Skiron, that quintessential bandit, whose penchant was to rob those transiting the Megarid and hurl them into the sea.¹³

Megarians would not be unusual either in generating an intentional history that reacted in some way to their neighbours or even in borrowing episodes wholesale from the cultural memory of other communities, like Corinth and Athens, and recasting them so as to emphasize local impetus and influence; it is never in a vacuum that a community constructs its past.¹⁴ Yet the *Megarika* and the local traditions on which they drew did take an idiosyncratic approach to this appropriation, I argue, relying less on outward aggression than on inward allure. Situated as it was, in the words of Stephanos of Byzantion, “on the isthmus between the Peloponnese on the one hand and Attica and Boiotia on the other,”¹⁵ the Megarid engendered a community whose collective memory was itself isthmian: not only restricted by and responsive to the traditions originating from either side but also adept in capitalizing on its intermedial position. By magnetizing the Megarid, by pulling Argives, Sikyonians, Boiotians, and Athenians inwards and burying them in Megarian land, the Megarian community advertised its territory as a conduit for Greeks and a thoroughfare of central importance. Before we explore this particular property of Megarian localism in more detail, however, it will be useful to provide some background to the *Megarika* and their authors.

11 = *FGrH* 487 F1: οἱ δὲ Μεγαρόθεν συγγραφεῖς ὁμόσε τῇ φήμῃ βαδίζοντες καὶ τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ κατὰ Σιμωνίδην πολεμοῦντες οὐθ' ὕβριστήν οὔτε ληιστήν γεγονέναι τὸν Σκείρωνά φασιν ἀλλὰ ληιστῶν μὲν κολαστήν, ἀγαθῶν δὲ καὶ δικαίων οἰκεῖον ἀνδρῶν καὶ φίλον.

12 οὐθ' ὕβριστήν οὔτε ληιστήν γεγονέναι τὸν Σκείρωνά φασιν ἀλλὰ ληιστῶν μὲν κολαστήν. According to Pausanias, in fact, the Megarians believed that Skiron, the son of Pylas and son-in-law of Pandion, had challenged Nisos for kingship and ended up as Megara's polemarch (1.39.6 [= *FGrH* 487 F3] and 1.44.6).

13 For Skiron, see Hanell 1934: 40–48; Wickersham 1991: 18–22; and Higbie 1997: 5, 294–295.

14 For the concept of ‘intentional history’, see Gehrke 2001; see also Gehrke 2003 and 2010.

15 Steph. Byz. s.v. *Megara*.

The *Megarika*

Modern students of the *Megarika* tend to take Plutarch's lead in emphasizing the general reactivity of Megarian memory to foreign traditions and its affinity for plagiarism – without legends of their own, wrote Martin Vogt, Megarians resorted to “borrowing and stealing” from their neighbours¹⁶ –, as well as the significant role that Athens played in this dynamic. For Donald Prakken, the *Megarika* represented an ongoing “literary and historical polemic ... against Athens”;¹⁷ for Felix Jacoby, Megara was always struggling under the weight of Athens, continually on the defensive and relying, in the absence of real political power, on an overblown and fanciful chauvinism;¹⁸ and for Thomas J. Figueira, it was the ongoing conflict with Athens over the so-called *Hiera Orgas* that provided in the mid-fourth century BCE a “context for this intense Megarian effort to defend the honor of their community” through the writing of *Megarika*.¹⁹ Even Luigi Piccirilli's landmark edition of the *Megarika*, which sought in part to wrest Megara's historiography from Athens' grasp,²⁰ assigns the efflorescence of local historiography at Megara to a time of political decadence in the shadow of a culturally prestigious Athens.²¹

As these studies make clear, it is difficult to avoid exaggerating Athens' contribution to the construction of Megarian identity since so many of our sources about Megara are Athenian or at any rate focalized by Athens. Save for what little we can cull from the *Theognidea*,²² most of our earliest references to the Megarian past come down to us

16 “Bei der Dürftigkeit der megarischen Sage und Geschichte war man aber darauf angewiesen, teils durch Anlehnungen und selbst durch Räubereien aus fremden Sagenkreisen, teils durch blanke Erfindungen die Bedeutung des Heimatlandes künstlich herauszuputzen: die Spuren dieser Ruhmredigkeit, die für die spätere Kleinstadt charakteristisch ist, haben wir in manchen sagenhaften und auch scheinbar historischen Berichten gefunden” (Vogt 1902: 743). According to Laqueur (1926: 1105), moreover, the work of the local historians at Megara, was “von vornherein stark unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Aussenpolitik gebildet”.

17 Prakken 1944: 123.

18 “Aber dann muss man auch die lächerliche seite dieses lokalpatriotismus einer stadt betonen, die schon im verlaufe des 6. jhdts ihre alte bedeutung zu verlieren beginnt und sich literarisch immer in der verteidigungsstellung befindet. Es genügt auf die reihe der gräber zu verweisen, die Megara für sich beansprucht” (Jacoby 1955: 229 n.6; but cf. 389 for the influence of other communities on Megarian local historiography).

19 Figueira 1985b: 119.

20 Piccirilli 1975: v.

21 *op. cit.*, vi.

22 We find, for example, an allusion in lines 773–782 to Alkathous's wall effectively keeping the Persians at bay. Nothing survives from the other early Megarian poet, Philiadās, except an epitaph for the Thespians who died at Thermopylai.

embedded in Athenian cultural memory. Herodotus mentions Megara's war with Athens over Salamis only in the context of Peisistratos' coup (1.59.4), for example, and he dates the Dorian colonization of Megara in accordance to Athenian chronology, the kingship of Kodros (5.76).²³ Thucydides, for his part, alludes to the tyrant Theagenes, but only so far as he impinges on Kylon's revolt (1.126.3-11).²⁴ Even later writers like Strabo (9.1.4-8) and Pausanias (1.40-44) append their accounts of Megara to their respective books on Attica,²⁵ while Plutarch, who does explicitly cite Megarian local historians, does so only in his *Lives* of the Athenians Solon and Theseus.²⁶

On occasion, our sources provide glimpses of connections to communities other than Athens. Hellanikos, for example, who notably wrote no separate work on Megara (as he had on Argos, Arkadia, Athens, Boiotia, Thessaly, and his own Lesbos),²⁷ integrated elements of early Megarian history into his *Deukalionia* (FGrH 4 F18)²⁸ and treated the eponymous Megareus, whom he envisaged as a Boiotian, in his chronology framed by the

Hereas does quote an anonymous verse about the murder in Aphidna of Skiron's son (FGrH 486 F2: τὸν ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ ποτ' Ἀφίδνῃ / μαρνάμενον Θησεὺς Ἑλένης ἔνεκ' ἠυκόμοιο / κτείνειν), but Plutarch, who preserves the lines (*Thes.* 32.6-7), tells us nothing about the provenance of the poet or the overall theme of the poem (see Hanell 1934: 11 n.2).

23 Herodotus refers elsewhere to Megarians, both individually and *en masse*. Yet his unflattering treatment of the Megarians at Plataia (9.14, 21, 28.6, 31.5, 69.2, 85.2; cf. 8.1.1, 8.45, 8.74.2, and 9.1 for earlier Megarian contributions to the Greek defense) was surely affected by the anti-Megarianism to which he was exposed during his sojourn at Athens.

24 Thucydides' sources for the foundation of Megara Hyblaia and Selinous in Sicily by the Megarians Lamis and Pamillos (6.4) are not entirely clear (see Hornblower 2008: 272-278), but they were certainly not Megarian. For Thucydides' failure to engage with Megara's role in the early phases of the Peloponnesian War, see Rood 1998: 68-69, 214-215.

25 According to both writers, the Megarid was originally part of Attica (Strab. 9.1.5; Paus. 1.39.4), and even though, as we shall see, Pausanias retains local Megarian traditions, he sometimes sifts these through an Athenian sieve (see, for example, 1.5.3 and 1.39.4 on the tomb of Pandion). We should note, too, that Pausanias even blames Megara's eventual decline in the Roman period on the assassination of the Athenian herald Anthemokritos in the fifth century (1.36.3)!

26 *Lyk.* 1.8 = Dieuchidas FGrH 48 F5; *Thes.* 20 and 32.4 = Hereas FGrH 486 F1-2; *Sol.* 10 = FGrH 486 F4. It is at *Thes.* 10, moreover, that Plutarch refers to 'historians from Megara' (= FGrH 487 F1; see also *Perikl.* 30.3 = FGrH 487 F13). It is noteworthy that Plutarch, critical though he is of Herodotus's local biases, does not bother to challenge the depiction of the Megarians in the *Histories* (*de Mal. Her.* 872c).

27 Ἀργολικά (FGrH 4 F36); Περὶ Ἀρκადίας (F37, 161-162); Ἀτθίς (F38-49); Βοιωτικά (F50-51); Θετταλικά (F52 and 201); and Λεσβιακά (F33-5).

28 = FGrH 4 T21 = FGrH 485 T1/F1 = Clem. *Strom.* 6.26.8. Hellanikos also mentioned Megara in his *Atthis* (FGrH 323a F7 = *s.v. Pegai*: Πηγαί. Ἀνδοκίδης ἐν τῷ Περὶ εἰρήνης [3.3], εἰ γνήσιος. Πηγαὶ τόπος ἐν Μεγάρῳ, ὡς ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀτθίδος φησὶν Ἑλλάνικος).

Priestesses of Hera at Argos (*FGrH* 4 F78).²⁹ But by and large it is Athens that sets the tone of ancient discussions about Megara, and these tend either to echo the anti-Megarianism of mid-fifth-century Athenian discourse or at any rate to ideate Megara in direct opposition to Athens. Thanks in part to the careers of notable Athenians like Plato, Androtion, and Leokrates,³⁰ Megara even earned the reputation as a haven for Athenian exiles; the Cynic Teles, who evidently spent some time at Megara after the Chremonidean War, depicts in his treatise *On Exile* a Megarian countryside swollen with the graves of Athenian rejects (29h).³¹ It is no surprise that Teles' contemporary Chrysippos, when demonstrating the dangers of treating universals as particulars, chose Megara and Athens as the prime binary pair: "If someone is in Megara", he quipped, "he is not in Athens."³²

It is not until the second half of the fourth century that Megarians begin to write prose works exploring the Megarian community and its past, for the first time preserving Megarian traditions in a Megarian framework. We know of five writers of Megarian local history (*Megarika*) before Strabo and Pausanias:³³ Praxion (*FGrH* 484),³⁴ whose history was

29 = Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Nisaia*: ἀπὸ Νίσου τοῦ Πανδίωνος. Ἑλλάνικος ἐν Ἱερειῶν ᾠ· καὶ ἐν τῇ β· καὶ Ἱνισαίαν τ' εἶλε καὶ Νῖσον τὸν Πανδίωνος καὶ Μεγαρέα τὸν Ὀγχήστιον (cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.210 and Paus. 1.39.5).

30 See respectively Diog.Laert. 3.6, 2.106; Plut. *de Ex.* 14 605c-d (= *FGrH* 324 T14); and Lyk. 1.21.

31 τί δὲ καὶ διαφέρειν ἂν δόξαι ἐπὶ ξένης ταφῆναι ἢ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ; οὐκ ἀηδῶς γὰρ τις τῶν Ἀττικῶν φυγάδων λαιδορουμένου τινὸς αὐτῷ καὶ λέγοντος ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ταφήσῃ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἄσεβεῖς Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ Μεγαρικῇ ὥσπερ μὲν οὖν <φησὶν> οἱ εὐσεβεῖς Μεγαρέων ἐν τῇ Μεγαρικῇ. τί γὰρ τὸ διάφορον; ἢ οὐ πανταχόθεν, φησὶν ὁ Ἀριστιππος, ἴση καὶ ὁμοία ἢ εἰς ἄδου ὁδός; For Teles, see O'Neil 1977.

32 See F278–279 (*SVF* von Arnim) = Simplic. in *Aristot. Categ.* F.26E and Diog.Laert. 7.186: Εἴ τις ἔστιν ἐν Μεγάροις, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν Ἀθήναις· ἄνθρωπος δὲ ἔστιν ἐν Μεγάροις· οὐκ ἄρα ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ἐν Ἀθήναις.

33 The title *Megarika* is explicitly given to the works of Praxion (*FGrH* 484 F1), Dieuchidas (*FGrH* F2a, 3–6), and Heragoras (*FGrH* F3 = *BNJ* 486A F1A and B). Plutarch, who is alone in citing Hereas, preserves no title for his work. A localized title like *Megarika*, of course, does not on its own prove that the cited text was a local history (see Marincola 1999: 295). But our citations do indeed suggest that the title is used by scholiasts (*FGrH* 485 F2b and 3, 486 F3), by Plutarch (*FGrH* 485 F5), by Harpokration (*FGrH* 484 F1 and 485 F2a), by Clement (*FGrH* 485 F4, cf. F1), and by Diogenes Laertius (*FGrH* 485 F6) to refer to works of local history, viz. narratives, dealing to some degree with the past, that were limited in scope by the real or imagined territory of a single community. We know, moreover, of other 'Megarian' texts that were not local histories, and these have their own system of nomenclature: Simylos's *Μεγαρική*, which was probably a comedy (see Jacoby 1955: *Noten* 229–30 n. 7), and Theophrastus's *Μεγαρικός* (Diog. Laert. 5.44; 6.22), likely a philosophical treatise. For the shadowy Πραξιτέλης ὁ περιηγητής (Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 5.3.7 675e), who wrote somewhere of Ino and Melikertes, see below (n. 80). Thorough surveys of the *Megarika* have been undertaken by Vogt (1902: 737–743), Jacoby (1955: Text 389–400 and *Noten* 229–237), Piccirilli (1975), and now Liddel, whose commentary and translation of the Megarian local historians is an exemplary addition to *BNJ* (2007). See also the interesting treatment of Okin 1985: 11–14 and Figueira 1985b: 133–134.

at least two books long (F2); Dieuchidas (*FGrH* 485), whose *Megarika* extended to at least five books (F6); Hereas (*FGrH* 486); Heragoras (*BNJ* 486A);³⁵ and Aristotle, whose *Politeia of the Megarians* certainly drew on and so must to some extent have resembled the *Megarika*.³⁶ The fragments from these works are slender and few – we have under thirty³⁷ –, and much of what remains, as we saw in the case of Plutarch, has been preserved in very Athenian contexts.³⁸ Nevertheless, there is enough to provide a general impression of the *Megarika*, both in terms of authorship and content, and to suggest that in many ways the phenomenon of local historiography manifested itself similarly at Megara as at other Greek communities.

34 Donald Prakken argued (1941: 348 n. 2) that Praxion was a phantom and that the sole reference to his work on Megara (Harpokrat. *s.v.* *Skiron* = *FGrH* 484 F1) should be emended, the fragment reassigned to Dieuchidas (<Διευχίδας... ὁ> Πραξιῶν<ος>). But Prakken's argument (seconded later by Davison 1959: 221) was adroitly dismissed by Jacoby (1955: *Noten* 230 n.2) and Dover (1966: 205 n.4).

35 Jacoby, following von Willamowitz (1880: 8), treated Hereas and Heragoras together under *FGrH* 486, explaining the biformity of the name through hypocorism (1955: 394); Piccirilli wisely distinguished two separate historians (1974: 287–422 and 1975: 51–56, 75), as has Liddel, who provides Heragoras with his own *BNJ* number: 486A.

36 Aristotle's work on Megara belongs to the corpus of 158 *Politeiai* that he himself wrote or whose composition he oversaw in the third quarter of the fourth century BCE (see in general Gigon 1987: 561–564 and Hose 2002: 15–105, 127–261). For the question of authorship, see Rhodes 1981: 50–51, 58–63 and Keaney 1992: 5–17. The existence of a *Politeia of the Megarians* (which Okin and Figueira interestingly attribute to Chamaileon of Herakleia [Okin 1985: 19; Figueira 1985b: 137–139]), is proven by Strabo (7.7.2 = Gigon 1987: 561), who says that in his *Politeiai* of the Akarnanians, Aitolians, Opuntians, Leukadians, and Megarians Aristotle treated the Leleges' conquest of Boiotia. There are references to Megara also in the *Politics* (3.1280b14, 4.1300a17, 5.1302b31, 5.1304b35, 5.1305a24), a text that probably preceded but nevertheless engaged with a similar set of traditions as the *Politeiai* (see Rhodes 1981: 58–59). Like the *Politeia of the Athenians*, Aristotle's work on Megara probably drew on local sources, perhaps the *Megarika* that Dieuchidas was writing at just about this time (for a good discussion of the sources of the *Ath.Pol.*, see Rhodes 1981: 15–30; for Aristotle's use of emic local historiography at Samos and Sparta in addition to Athens, see Tober forthcoming 2018).

37 Jacoby identified one fragment for Praxion (*FGrH* 484), eleven for Dieuchidas (*FGrH* 485), four for Hereas/Heragoras (*FGrH* 486), and thirteen anonymous fragments, which he collected under the heading of *Sammelzitate*. Piccirilli, on the other hand, followed Müller in assigning an additional fragment to Dieuchidas (*viz.* Parthen. *Narr.Am.* 13), separated Hereas from Heragoras, to whom he attached an additional reference (F1b = Eudok. *Viol.* 1021), and greatly expanded the corpus of anonymous fragments. Liddel, meanwhile, has chosen the middle ground, jettisoning Piccirilli's category "Frammenti Adespoti di Provenienza Megarese", and significantly reducing the fragments that Piccirilli included under the rubric "Frammenti Adespoti de Fonti Indicate Come οι Μεγαρεῖς" (he excludes Piccirilli F2b, 5, 6b, 9, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 19, and 21a–b).

38 Of the 16 discrete fragments from the *Megarika* of Praxion, Hereas/Heragoras, and Dieuchidas included by Jacoby in his collection, nearly half come from Athenocentric sources: three from Harpokration, one from a scholion to Aristophanes, and four from Plutarch's *Lives* of Theseus and Solon.

For one thing, aside from Aristotle and Heragoras, about whom nothing is known, the writers of *Megarika* were themselves Megarian.³⁹ Only Hereas, it is true, is explicitly called a Megarian, on two occasions by Plutarch (*Thes.* 20.1-2 and *Sol.* 10.5 = *FGrH* 486 F1 and 4).⁴⁰ Yet Plutarch speaks elsewhere, as we have seen, of 'the historians from Megara' (*Thes.* 10 = *FGrH* 487 F1), so he was clearly aware of more than one native historian.⁴¹ Epigraphy provides further testimony. For a Megarian Dieuchidas appears with some frequency in the list of Delphic Naopoioi in the years leading up to the completion of the temple (338/7-330/29 BCE) – the name is rare enough to warrant the connection –, and he is there sometimes even identified as the 'son of Praxion'.⁴² If we can indeed match up this pair of Megarians to our historians, Dieuchidas was evidently continuing or amending the history of his father, a phenomenon not in fact uncommon in the Greek world.⁴³

Like many other Greek local historians, moreover, these Megarians not only were members of the community about which they were writing but seem also to have enjoyed in that community positions of political or religious authority.⁴⁴ Dieuchidas, once again, repeatedly represented his community at Delphi in the fraught decade following the Battle

39 For the tendency of Greek local historians to write about their own communities, see Tober 2017.

40 Ἡρέας ὁ Μεγαρεύς.

41 The phrase that Plutarch uses, οἱ δὲ Μεγαρόθεν συγγραφεῖς, is unusual in its prioritization of the historians' provenance (but cf. Plutarch's similar references to Naxian historians: *FGrH* 501 F1-3). When the local historians of Athens are cited collectively, it is the texts' contents that are usually at issue (see Jacoby 1949: 1-2), and the same can be said for historians from Argos (*FGrH* 311 T1 and F2), Euboea (*FGrH* 427 F1-2), Aiolia (*FGrH* 301 F1), Chios (*FGrH* 395 F1), and Miletus (*FGrH* 496 F1).

42 *CID* 2.32, 75-76, 79A, 97, 99 (= *FD* III.5.20, 49-50, 48+63, 58, 60A); Dieuchidas is listed as Praxion's son on two occasions (*CID* 2.76 and 97). For the Naopoioi as an institution, see Bourguet 1896; Roux 1979: 95-135; and Sánchez 2001: 124-152. For the equation between the historian and temple official – the name Dieuchidas, which is frequently muddled in the manuscripts (see Piccirilli 1975: 13), is in fact unattested elsewhere –, see Bourguet 1896: 233-234 n.1. Jacoby, who does not treat these inscriptions as *Testimonia* for Dieuchidas, nevertheless finds the correlation persuasive (1955: *Noten*, 231 n.5), as have others before him and since (see e.g. Schwartz 1903: 480-481, Prakken 1941: 349, and Piccirilli 1975: 14-15); but cf. Keil (1897: 413, n.1) and Davison (1959: 221), who argued that the historian lived a good deal after the Naopios, from whom he borrowed the name in order to give his book "a certain cachet of antiquity". Clement uses the cletic adjective *megarikos* with reference to Dieuchidas (*Strom.* 6.26.8 = *FGrH* 485 T1), but this must mean first and foremost that he was treating Dieuchidas as an author of *Megarika* not that he considered him a Megarian.

43 See the comments of Liddel in the "Biographical Essay" appended to his commentary on Praxion's *Megarika*. Modern examples of the phenomenon abound; we can think, for example, of the Florentine *Nuova Cronica* begun by Giovanni Villani and extended first by his brother and then by his nephew.

44 For an overview of the public life of Greek historians, see Meißner 1992: 215-315.

of Chaironeia, and, as Georges Roux has shown, the men chosen from the Amphictyonic poleis as Naopoioi were very frequently from families locally well-positioned.⁴⁵ Hereas, for his part, may also have participated actively in the Megarian community. For at the beginning of the third century we find a Hereas, son of Aleios, as Theoros dedicating offerings to Apollo Prostasterios (*IG* 7.39),⁴⁶ and this Hereas is perhaps himself the father of a Kallikrates who appears in a Megarian inscription dated to the middle of the third century (*IG* 7.141) and who is awarded proxeny at Delphi just after the Chremonidean War (*FD* III.1.189). Other inscriptions may perhaps also be brought into this discussion.⁴⁷ But the point in any case is that in Megara, as in a good many Greek communities, the decision to write local history was generally undertaken by locals who had a particular stake in claiming authority over their community's collective past.⁴⁸

Megarian local historians, finally, adopted in their narratives a position toward their home community similar to that of other Greek local historians: even though they intended their work in part for local consumption, they nevertheless tended to imply a foreign audience, expounding details of Megarian behavior as if for the benefit of outsiders and generally engaging in what I have elsewhere called self-ethnography.⁴⁹ Hereas detailed Megarian burial customs, for example, claiming, as Plutarch reports in his *Life of Solon* (10.1–6 = *FGrH* 486 F4), that at Megara the dead were buried facing west, with more than one body per tomb.⁵⁰ This is normally, and quite reasonably, understood in the context in which

45 107–8. In the years that Dieuchidas served, we find on the board trierarchs from Athens, the son of a priest at Epidaurus, and an Aleuad from Larisa named Medeios, to name just a few examples.

46 On Apollo Prostasterios at Megara, see Smith 2008: 117–118; on the *theōroi*, see Boesch 1908. The link between the priest and the historian is not firm, although Hereas's discussion of Megarian and Athenian burial custom (*FGrH* 486 F4, for which see below) may indicate, as Prakken suggested (1944: 122–123), that he was writing after the reforms of Demetrios of Phaleron (317 BCE), a date that jibes with the activity of the homonymous Theoros.

47 See Liddel, “Biographical Essay”, in “Hereas of Megara (486)”, in *BNJ*.

48 Local historiography, to the extent that it allowed a Greek to forward a version of his community's cultural memory that endorsed his own activities and view of the past, seems to have fulfilled in the poleis a similar role as autobiography and memoir would in the Roman Republic (see Tober 2017).

49 For the frequent incongruity between a Greek local historian's intended and implied audience and for the phenomenon of self-ethnography in general, see Tober 2017.

50 Ἡρέας δ' ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἐνιστάμενος λέγει καὶ Μεγαρεῖς πρὸς ἐσπέραν τετραμμένα τὰ σώματα τῶν νεκρῶν τιθέναι – καὶ μείζον ἔτι τούτων, μίαν ἑκάστον Ἀθηναίων ἔχειν θήκην, Μεγαρέων δὲ καὶ τρεῖς καὶ τέτταρας ἐν μιᾷ κεῖσθαι. τῶ μέντοι Σόλωνι καὶ Πυθικοὺς τινὰς βοηθῆσαι λέγουσι χρησμούς, ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς Ἰαονίαν τὴν Σαλαμίνα προσηγόρευσε. ταύτην τὴν δίκην ἐδίκασαν Σπαρτιατῶν πέντε ἄνδρες· Κριτολαΐδας, Ἀμομφάρετος, Ὑψιχίδας, Ἀναξίλας, Κλεομένης.

Plutarch cites it, Salamis, with Hereas refuting a claim put in the mouth of Solon by an Atthidographer who had apparently exploited archaeological anthropology to prove Athenian tenure of the island.⁵¹ Yet whatever his aims, the Megarian Hereas clearly took pains in his history of Megara (geared, at least in part, for a local audience) to elucidate Megarian practice.⁵² Dieuchidas also included descriptions of epichoric custom, expounding the Megarian practice of placing a tongue on an altar after a sacrifice, for example, a gesture that he linked to an early exploit of Alkathous (*FGrH* 485 F10),⁵³ and elsewhere commenting on the so-called Aguieus, a type of column, evidently a common feature of the Megarian landscape, that he associated with the Dorians (*FGrH* 485 F2b).⁵⁴ This is the sole fragment from any *Megarika*, incidentally, that has been preserved verbatim, and although there are some problems with the text, we see that Dieuchidas expressly adopts the position of an outsider, twice employing with reference to his own community the phrase ἔτι καὶ νῦν, a tag that often signals an ethnographic register.⁵⁵

Other evidence for the interest of Megarian local historians in Megarian custom comes from Plutarch's collection of *Greek Questions*, if indeed behind it lurk, as Karl Giesen persuasively argued, Aristotle's *Politeiai*, and if these texts did themselves draw on emic local historiography.⁵⁶ Four of Plutarch's *Greek Questions* deal exclusively with Megara (# 16–18 and 59). One explains the peculiar Megarian use of the term 'spear-friend' by

51 See Jacoby 1955: 395; Piccirilli 1975: 67–73; and Liddel ad loc. See also Prakken 1944, and Higbie 1997: 299–305.

52 Plutarch does not purport to be quoting Hereas's text verbatim, it is true, but his use of the present infinitive suggests that Hereas was not writing about defunct Megarian practice.

53 = *Schol. Apol. Rhod. Arg.* 1.516–518c: Διευχίδας ἐν τοῖς Μεγαρικοῖς ἱστορεῖ, ὅτι Ἀλκάθους ὁ Πέλοπος διὰ τὸν Χρυσίππου φόνον φυγαδευθεὶς ἐκ τῶν †Μεγάρων ἤρχετο κατοικήσων εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν. ὥς δὲ περιέπεσε λέοντι λυμαινομένῳ τὰ Μέγαρα, ἐφ' ὃν καὶ ἕτεροι ἦσαν ἀπεσταλμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Μεγάρων, καταγωνίζεται τοῦτον καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτοῦ εἰς πῆραν θέμενος ἤρχετο πάλιν εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα· καὶ ἀπαγγελλόντων τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν ὅτι αὐτοὶ εἰσιν οἱ κατηγωνισμένοι, προσκομίσας τὴν πῆραν ἤλεγξεν αὐτούς. διόπερ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ τελευταῖον τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐπέθηκεν τοῖς βωμοῖς· καὶ ἀπὸ τότε ἔθος τοῦτο διέμεινε Μεγαρεῦσιν.

54 = *Schol. Aristoph. Vesp.* 875(V): περὶ τοῦ Ἀγυιέως Ἀπόλλωνος Διευχίδας οὕτως γράφει· ἐν δὲ τῷ † ἱατρῷ τούτῳ διαμένει ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ καὶ ὡς † Ἀγυιεύς τῶν Δωριέων οἰκησάντων ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἀνάθημα· καὶ οὗτος καταμηνύει ὅτι Δωριέων ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. †τούτοις γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς στρατιάς φάσματος οἱ Δωριεῖς ἀπομιμούμενοι τὰς ἀγυῖας ἱστᾶσιν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. Harpokration also refers to Dieuchidas's discussion of the Aguieus, although he does not claim to be citing the historian verbatim (*FGrH* 485 F2a).

55 See Tober 2017.

56 Giesen 1901: 461–465; see also Halliday 1928: 92–95.

postulating a period of stasis at Megara caused by tensions with Corinth; here, it is worth noting, the Corinthians who allegedly foment the Megarian civil war are described as “plotting to subjugate the Megarid,” not, as Demon would have it, already as successful conquerors let alone colonists of the region (*Ait.* 17 = *Mor.* 295 b–c). Two other *Questions* presuppose a period of ‘unbridled democracy’ following the tyranny of Theagenes; the first focuses on a law limiting interest on loans (παλιντοκία: *Ait.* 18 = *Mor.* 295 c–d), the second on the origins of a group of Megarians known as ‘Wagon-Rollers’ (*Ait.* 59 = *Mor.* 304 e–f). While certainly revealing a concern for local custom, these last *logoi* also suggest that some *Megarika* may actually have pursued Megarian history into the historical period.⁵⁷

The remaining *Question* (*Ait.* 16 = *Mor.* 295 a–b) deals with an item of clothing worn by Megarian women: the so-called Aphaibroma. When Nisos was king, Plutarch writes, he married a Boiotian woman, Abrote, daughter of Onchestos and sister of Megareus, a woman of great repute and so beloved by the Megarians that when she died they mourned for her on their own accord. Nisos, wishing to maintain his wife’s memory among his people, ordered the townswomen to adopt the sort of dress Abrote had once worn, and he named the garment after her. Apollo evidently approved of this custom; for whenever the Megarian women wanted to change their clothing, his oracle forbade it.⁵⁸ The compulsory lamentation following the death of a Megarian potentate recalls the explanations of ‘Megarians’ Tears’ with which we began. The expression of mourning for Abrote, to be sure, is sartorial not lachrymal; but like Zenobios and Diogenianos, Plutarch (relying perhaps ultimately on local sources)⁵⁹ explains Megarian praxis through death and

57 Although cf. Figueira 1985b: 119–121.

58 τί τὸ καλούμενον ὑπὸ Μεγαρέων ἀφάβρωμα; Νῖσος, ἀφ’ οὗ προσηγορεύθη Νίσαια, βασιλεύων ἐκ Βοιωτίας ἔγημεν Ἀβρώτην, Ὀγχήστου θυγατέρα, Μεγαρέως δ’ ἀδελφὴν, γυναῖκα καὶ τῷ φρονεῖν ὡς ἔοικε περιττὴν καὶ σώφρονα διαφερόντως. ἀποθανούσης δ’ αὐτῆς, οἱ τε Μεγαρεῖς ἐπένησαν ἐκουσίως καὶ ὁ Νῖσος αἰδίαν τινὰ μνήμην καὶ δόξαν αὐτῆς καταστῆναι βουλόμενος ἐκέλευε τὰς ἀστὰς φορεῖν ἣν ἐκείνη στολὴν ἐφόρει, καὶ τὴν στολὴν ἀφάβρωμα δι’ ἐκείνην ὠνόμασε. δοκεῖ δὲ τῇ δόξῃ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ ὁ θεὸς βοηθῆσαι: πολλάκις γὰρ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀλλάξαι βουλομένας τὰς Μεγαρίδας χρησμῷ διεκώλυσε.

59 In his commentary on “Question 16”, Halliday suspects that “the tone of the last sentence” of the passage suggests that it did not come from a Megarian source, “and this is borne out by the details” (1928: 92), viz. that in Plutarch’s account Nisos’ wife was Boiotian and that it was her (Boiotian) brother, Megareus, who gave his name to the polis. Okin agrees, arguing that Plutarch’s source here cannot be (directly or indirectly) “Megarian historical tradition” since Plutarch “totally ignores Megara’s version of its own early history” (1985: 14). But Pausanias’s tortuous foundation narrative that

mourning and, more to the point, interprets this mourning as initially local, spontaneous, and genuine.

Localism in the *Megarika*

The writers of *Megarika* typify Greek local historians not only in the role they played in their home community and the pose they struck in relation to this community but also in their broad conception of Megara's historiographical compass and command over the past. For like their counterparts in other communities, they incorporated within the confines of a locally restricted narrative a range of nonlocal material.⁶⁰ Where the *Megarika* most markedly diverge from other local histories, however, is in the particular means by which they effected this incorporation.

Many local histories augmented the prestige of the focal locality by exploiting centrifugal force, by casting the local outward. The *Atthides*, for example, sent Theseus to Corinth, Crete, and the Black Sea;⁶¹ the *Thessalika* pushed Armenos beyond Pontos to found Armenia;⁶² and the Spartan *Politeiai* led Lykourgos to Iberia, Libya, and India.⁶³ These enterprising locals, largely inhabiting the early period of a community's past, were rarely made responsible for full-scale conquests of outside regions; their travels more frequently

Halliday and Okin seem to have in mind (1.39.5) does not directly contradict Plutarch – what 'the Megarians' object to in Pausanias's account is the 'Cretan War' and the alleged capture of the city in the reign of Nisos –, and even if Pausanias did in fact intend to say that the Megarians of his day rejected all links with Boiotia, there is no reason to deny that all Megarians, or indeed a particular Megarian historian, may five hundred years earlier have nursed other ideas about the *ktisis*. Hellanikos derived Megareus from Boiotia (*FGrH* 4 F78; see above n. 28), and it was Hellanikos who allegedly gave Dieuchidas his starting point (*FGrH* 485 T1/F1 = Clem. *Strom.* 6.26.8): Μελησαγόρου γὰρ ἔκλεψεν καὶ Ἀνδροτίων καὶ Φιλόχορος Διευχίδας τε ὁ Μεγαρικός, τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλανίκου Δευκαλιωνείας μετέβαλεν (see Piccirilli 1975: 18). It is worth noting that Pausanias treats Deukalion in his section on Megara, saying that Megareus escaped the flood by following a crane to the heights of Mt. Geraneia and that Dieuchidas somewhere treated the mountain (*FGrH* 485 F8; cf. *Etym. Mag.* 228 [Gaisford], s.v. *Geraneia*). For Boiotian claims on Megara see Hornblower (1996: 240–241) on Thuc. 4.72.1.

60 See above (n. 33) for the implications of the title *Megarika*.

61 For Theseus's travels, see e.g. Hellanikos *FGrH* F323a F14–17; Kleidemos *FGrH* 323 F17; Demon *FGrH* 327 F5; and Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F17, 110–111.

62 *FGrH* 129F1 and *FGrH* 130F1.

63 *FGrH* 591 F2.

served as indicators of one community's influence over another or at any rate its involvement in the wider world. While we know that in at least one *Megarika* (that of Hereas) at least one Megarian (Skiron's son Halykos) makes it to Aphidna in Attica to face Theseus in battle (*FGrH* 486 F2), Megarian historians generally annexed outside material by applying the opposite, centripetal, force and drawing the outside world in.⁶⁴

In many local histories, this inward movement is best observed in the ideation of an original locality that exceeded, sometimes radically, the actual bounds of the civic community in the historians' own day; the *Atticides* tended to include the Megarid in the kingdom of Pandion, the *Argolika* to posit an ur-Argos that comprised much of the northern Peloponnesos.⁶⁵ Yet, while the *Megarika* do seem to have retrojected this sort of idealized territory, envisioning a primeval realm that included Salamis and probably Perachora as well,⁶⁶ our evidence suggests that in Megarian memory centripetalism worked less to extend Megara's size than to increase its mass. By exploiting Megara's arterial status, Megarian historians found frequent occasion to intercept distinguished visitors as they traversed the isthmus and keep hold of them by burying them securely in Megarian soil.

Hereas's discussion of Megarian burial practices and the paremiology of 'Megarians' Tears' with which we began have provided us the opportunity already to note how the Megarian

64 There were other means, of course, by which Megarian historians addressed nonlocal material. One common strategy was simply to integrate (through digressions) into a narrative focalized by Megara episodes culled from the cultural memory of other communities: of Athens (*BNJ* 486a F1, *FGrH* 486 F1, and *FGrH* 485 F6), for example; of Sparta (*FGrH* 484 F4-5); and of Rhodes (*FGrH* 485 F7; Dieuchidas's *logos* of the Rhodian *ktisis* is in fact thick with detail about the exploits of the children of Triopas and about the hospitality of an otherwise unknown Rhodian named Thamneus). In each case, Megarian historians imposed a Megarian framework onto other communities' pasts, applying the same heuristic tools with which they worked and reworked their own community's history and using Megara as a lens through which to focus the history of the wider Greek world.

65 For Athens, see *FGrH* 328 107; cf. Strab. 9.1.5; Paus. 39.4-6, and Plut. *Thes.* 25.3. For Argos, see *FGrH* 70 F115 and *FGrH* 334 F39; cf. Strab. 8.6.5.

66 For Salamis, see Hereas *FGrH* 486 F4 (with F1 and 485 F6). Regarding Perachora, Plutarch tantalizingly claims in his *Greek Questions* that 'long ago' some Megarians were known as Heraeis and Piraeis (#17 = *Mor.* 295b): τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Μεγαρίς ὥκειτο κατὰ κώμας, εἰς πέντε μέρη νενεμημένων τῶν πολιτῶν. ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ Ἡραεῖς καὶ Πιραεῖς καὶ Μεγαρεῖς καὶ Κυνοσουρεῖς καὶ Τριποδίσκιοι. That his discussion here ultimately depends on Aristotle's *Politeia* is corroborated by Aristotle's reference to Megarian *komai* in the *Poetics* (1448a29-39). On the Perachora, see Salmon 1972; on the synoecism of Megara in general, see Robu 2014: 15-33.

community constructed its past with recourse to corpses and their interment. The best place to observe Megarian preoccupation with graves, however, is Pausanias's Megarian itinerary. The whole *Periegesis*, it is true, brims with tombs. Yet Pausanias supposes for the Megarians a particularly rich relationship with the dead: at Megara, he proclaims, there are graves even within the walls of the polis (1.43.3)!⁶⁷ This relationship is neatly encapsulated by the anecdote Pausanias preserves about the otherwise unknown Aisymnos (1.43.3). After the fall of the monarchy, he explains, Aisymnos, whose reputation at Megara was second to none, asked Apollo how his community might thrive in the absence of its kings. Told to take counsel with the many, Aisymnos and his countrymen naturally understood this as a reference not to the *dēmos* but to the dead, and they accordingly built their *bouleutērion* in such a way as to incorporate the tombs of their heroes.⁶⁸ Far from symbolizing stagnation and moribundity,⁶⁹ the dead here contribute actively to the negotiation of civic identity at Megara. For Hereas, too, in fact, graves implied something both about the past (Megara's onetime possession of Salamis) and about the present (Megarians behave fundamentally differently from their Athenian neighbours).

As in the case of Aisymnos's *bouleutērion*, many of Megara's graves were assigned to local heroes. Hereas wrote that Skiron's son Halykos had his tomb at Megara, even though he had been killed at Attica (*FGrH* 486 F2). And Pausanias provides a litany of other dead Megarians, noting as he wandered through the isthmus the graves of Alkathous, his wife Pyrgo, and his daughter Iphinoë (1.43.4 = *FGrH* 487 F6);⁷⁰ of Megareus (1.42.1 = *FGrH*

67 For Pausanias's appraisal of Megara's graves, see Muller 1981: 218–22.

68 εἰσι δὲ τάφοι Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει: καὶ τὸν μὲν τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐποίησαν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Μήδου, τὸ δὲ Αἰσύμνιον καλούμενον μνημα ἦν καὶ τοῦτο ἡρώων. Ὑπερίωνος δὲ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος – οὗτος γὰρ Μεγαρέων ἐβασίλευσεν ὕστατος – τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ Σανδίωνος διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ὕβριν, βασιλεύεσθαι μὲν οὐκέτι ὑπὸ ἐνὸς ἐδόκει σφίσι, εἶναι δὲ ἄρχοντας αἰρετοὺς καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἀκούειν ἀλλήλων. ἐνταῦθα Αἰσύμνος οὐδενὸς τὰ ἐς δόξαν Μεγαρέων δεύτερος παρὰ τὸν θεὸν ἦλθεν ἐς Δελφούς, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἡρώτα τρόπον τίνα εὐδαιμονήσουσι: καὶ οἱ καὶ ἄλλα ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε καὶ Μεγαρέας εὖ πράξειν, ἦν μετὰ τῶν πλειόνων βουλευέσωνται. τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐς τοὺς τεθνεώτας ἔχειν νομίζοντες βουλευτήριον ἐνταῦθα ᾠκοδόμησαν, ἵνα σφίσι ὁ τάφος τῶν ἡρώων ἐντὸς τοῦ βουλευτηρίου γένηται. For similarities between this oracle and that given to the Tarentines in Polybius (8.28.7), see Fontenrose 1978: 71. For the placement of the graves at Megara and its effects on the mythic space of the city, see Bohrer 1980: esp. 13–18 and, more generally, Pfister 1912: 445–465, esp. 459–462. For the office of *aisymnetes* at Megara, see Figueira 1985b: 140 and Herda 2016: 55–60.

69 Pace Jacoby 1955: *Noten* 229 n. 6.

70 cf. 1.39 (= *FGrH* 487 F3) for a different assessment of Iphinoë, see Dowden 1989: 78–80.

487 F5) and his son Timalkos (1.42.4 = Piccirilli 5.F8b = *BNJ* 487 F14b); of Tereus (1.41.8 = *FGrH* 487 F8); and of the Olympic victor Orsippos (1.44.1 = *FGrH* 487 F11). In each of these cases, it is true, Pausanias derives his information from 'the Megarians', not explicitly from the 'writers of *Megarika*'. Yet, even if he did on occasion rely on information imparted to him orally by local guides – it is only at Megara, in fact, that Pausanias mentions being led around directly by an expounder of local matters (1.41.2; see 42.4) –, so much of what he attributes loosely to 'the Megarians' jibes with the fragments, retained elsewhere, of the *Megarika*.⁷¹ If this indeed implies a familiarity (direct or indirect) with the texts of Praxion, Dieuchidas, Hereas, and Heragoras, we would be justified in treating Pausanias's account as a potential storehouse of quotations from and references to Megarian local historiography. Indeed, we might even be able to identify fragments of the *Megarika* in places where Pausanias has not explicitly adduced 'the Megarians' as a source, concluding, for example, that Megarian historians had themselves included the story of Aisymnos and mentioned the graves of Kar (1.44.6), of additional sons of Alkathous (1.41.6 and 1.43.2) and of Megareus (1.43.2), and of the descendants of Melampous (1.43.5). If, however, Pausanias behaved aberrantly at Megara and relied there solely on oral sources, his testimony nevertheless suggests a remarkable perseverance and conservatism for Megarian tradition. This in and of itself should make his narrative, to whatever extent it adumbrates the contents of any specific *Megarika*, an accurate gauge for Megarian beliefs in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods and confirmation that the Megarians' constitutive narrative was exceptionally attentive to the dead.

What stands out about Megara's graves, in the *Megarika* and in Pausanias's account, is how many of them were alleged to be occupied by non-Megarians, in particular non-

71 On Pausanias's use of local traditions and oral sources, see Lacroix 1994 and Pretzler 2005: esp. 241–7. For the guides on whom Pausanias claims occasionally to rely, see Jones 2001. On Pausanias's use of written sources, see Jacoby 1955: 60–62 (remarks directed specifically at Pausanias's *Argolika* but in fact more widely applicable); Habicht 1998: esp. 64–94 on epigraphical sources; and Cameron 2004: 235–237. For Pausanias's probable use of written sources in the case of Megara, including emic *Megarika*, see Piccirilli 1975: 81–82, who points out the significant overlap between what Pausanias attributes loosely to 'the Megarians' and the fragments from earlier *Megarika*, and Liddel, "Biographical Essay", in "Anonymous, *On Megara (De Megara)* (487)" in *BNJ*. Pausanias's complaint that "there has been an omission" among the Megarian *exēgētai* about a particular sanctuary to Athena Aiantis on Megara's acropolis (1.42.4: τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ Μεγαρέων μὲν παρεῖται τοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς) suggests, for what it is worth, that he is not thinking of a local guide's momentary lapse of memory but of a written corpus to which he has access.

Megarians originating from either side of the isthmus. Dieuchidas reports in the third book of his *Megarika*, for example, that Adrastus was buried in Megara and that the tomb to which Sikyonians laid claim was only a cenotaph (*FGrH* 485 F3).⁷² The scholiast to Pindar who preserves this fragment (*Nem.* 9.30a) says nothing of the circumstances behind Adrastus's burial in Megara; but there is no reason to suspect that Dieuchidas had made Adrastus a Megarian, and he likely explained the hero's death as would Pausanias: that he succumbed to old age and grief over the death of his son while leading his army back to Argos from Thebes (1.43.1).⁷³ It was a similar journey, according to Pausanias, that brought the Argive Koroibos to Megara. He was compelled by the Pythia to walk south from Delphi and settle wherever the tripod that he was struggling to carry happened to fall – he made it all the way to Mt. Geraneia, Pausanias says, before he dropped his heavy load; and although it was there that Koroibos spent the rest of his days, founding a village that he named Tripodiskoi after the incident, it was in the agora of Megara that he was buried (1.43.7–8).⁷⁴ Alkmene came to Megara along the reverse trajectory, happening to expire, 'the Megarians say,' while walking from Argos to Thebes (1.41.1 = *BNJ* 487 F15).⁷⁵ About her burial, Pausanias continues, the Herakleidai were immediately at loggerheads: some wanted to return the corpse to Argos, others to take it on to Thebes, where Amphitryon

72 = *Schol.* Pind *Nem.* 9.30 περὶ τῆς Ἀδράστου εἰς Σικυῶνα μεταστάσεως Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὕτω φησὶν ... ἄπαις δὲ ὁ Πόλυβος τελευτῶν διδοῖ Ἀδρήστῳ τὴν χώραν. Μέναιχμος δὲ ὁ Σικυῶνιος οὕτω γράφει ... Ἀδραστος δὲ ... ἤλθεν εἰς Σικυῶνα, καὶ τὴν Πολύβου τοῦ μητροπάτορος βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Σικυῶνος, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἥρας τῆς Ἀλέας καλουμένης ἱερὸν καθ' ὃνπερ ᾧκει τόπον ἰδρύσατο.....Διευχίδας δὲ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Μεγαρικῶν τὸ μὲν κενήριον τοῦ Ἀδράστου ἐν Σικυῶνι φησιν, ἀποκεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν Μεγάρῳ. See Hanell 1934: 97 and Jacoby 1955: 391 and *Noten* 232, n. 20. For Adrastus's connection to Sikyon, see Hdt 5.67.

73 Piccirilli considers this reference a fragment from the *Megarika* although Pausanias does not attribute the anecdote expressly to 'the Megarians' (1975: 5.15). See Pind. *Pyth.* 8.48 for an early reference to Adrastus's return to Argos.

74 = Piccirilli 1975: 5.19. While Pausanias does not explicitly assign this story to 'the Megarians', he does claim to have seen elegiac verses carved on the temple to Apollo that Koroibos allegedly built at Tripodiskoi, verses that told of the hero's early exploits (the carved images above the verse, which showed Koroibos slaying Poine, were the oldest stone *agalмата* of which Pausanias knew). Pausanias assigns no provenance to Koroibos, but his assertion that the hero slew Poine "ἐς χάριν Ἀργείοις" does not in itself imply that Pausanias considered him to be a Megarian (*pace* Rigsby 1987: 97).

75 Jacoby did not include this passage in his category *Sammelzitate*, but Liddel is surely correct that the subject 'the Megarians' ought to be carried over from 1.40.5.

and Alkmene's grandchildren had been laid to rest.⁷⁶ Apollo intervened, suggesting that they split the difference and bury Alkmene in Megara.

Other celebrated nonlocals in Pausanias's account ended up at Megara for other reasons. Some had come on campaign, like Herakles' son, Hyllos, who accompanied the Herakleidai on their invasion of the Peloponnesos and died at the hands of the Arkadian Echemos (1.41.2).⁷⁷ Some had come to rule, such as the Athenian Pandion (1.39.4) or the Egyptian Lelex (1.44.3). Others had been on the run, fleeing oppression, like Eurystheus, who escaped from Athens after battling the Herakleidai, losing his life to Iolaus not in Marathon but at Megara (1.44.10). Some came already dead, like Adrastos's son Aigialeus, who was struck down at Glisas in the first battle of the second Argive invasion, carried by his kinsmen to Pagai, and buried in what would henceforth be known as the Aigialeion (1.44.4). Others came to Megara expressly to die. So Iphigenia, whose father evidently brought her there before the expedition to Troy (1.43.1 = *FGrH* 487 F10).⁷⁸ So too Hippolyta, who 'the Megarians say' withdrew to Megara after the defeat of the Amazons in Attica and once there sank into a fatal depression (*FGrH* 487 F10).

Extreme grief is itself a common theme. It motivates the death not only of Hippolyta and Adrastos, but also of Autonoë, who had left Thebes and come to Megara, according to Pausanias, in mourning for her son Aktaion – she eventually died from her pains in the village of Ereneia (1.44.5).⁷⁹ And grief also attends Ino's death. It was at Megara, Pausanias writes, from the so-called Molourian Rock, that the Theban princess, fleeing her mad husband Athamas, flung herself and her swaddled son into the sea (1.44.7-8). Plutarch preserves a similar story in his *Table Talk* (675e = Piccirilli 5.4b = *BNJ* 487 F7a), attributing to an otherwise unknown periegete named Praxiteles the variant in which Ino rushed down toward the sea along the so-called Path of the Beauty.⁸⁰ The lifeless Melikertes

⁷⁶ See Plut. *Lys.* 28 and *De Socr. Gen.* 5 for the tradition that Alkmene's grave was also shown at Haliartos.

⁷⁷ = Piccirilli 1975: 6 F9; see also 1.44.10 = Piccirilli 5 F17.

⁷⁸ See also Philodem. *De Pietate* = *P.Herc.* 248 F3.13-6. Aulis's claim was apparently not secure, for Pausanias here also mentions an Arkadian version of Iphigenia's fate, and the *Atthides* seem to have placed her death in Attica (*FGrH* 325 F14), perhaps, as Jacoby surmised, in answer to Megarian claims (Jacoby 1955: 186-188 and Jacoby 1931/1961: 345-455); see also d'Alessio 2012: 44-45 and Bremmer 2014: 176-177).

⁷⁹ For Ereneia, see Muller 1982: 379-405.

⁸⁰ See Piccirilli 1975: 100-101.

drifted or was carried by a dolphin to the coast of Corinth where he was honored as Palaimon.⁸¹ But Ino's body could not escape Megara's gravitational pull. Although she leaped far out to sea, Pausanias writes, the waves returned her to the Megarian coast, where she was found by the granddaughters of Lelex and buried not far from the prytaneion (1.42.7 = *FGrH* 487 F7).⁸²

This episode is the source of another lugubrious Megarian proverb: 'The Sorrows of Ino'. Zenobios once again provides the fullest commentary (4.38):

Ino, the daughter of Kadmos, had two sons with Athamas: Learchos and Melikertes, and a daughter, Eurykleia. These were shot and killed by Athamas, when he went mad. And with Melikertes, Ino threw herself into the sea by the Molourian rock, and, when she was swept by the waves to Megara, the Megarians pulled her out, attended to her corpse generously, and called her Leukothea.... On account of these things, then, there is the expression 'The Sorrows (*achē*) of Ino'. For achos is grief that renders mute (*achaneis*) those who suffer hardships.⁸³

Unlike 'Megarians' Tears', a phrase that views the Megarians as outsiders, 'Ino's sorrows' may well have had a local origin; its paremiology, at any rate, belongs comfortably to the Megarian community, touching on features of Megarian topography and cult as it does and presenting the Megarians not as vassals but as reverential hosts. Yet, like the proverb

81 See also Paus. 2.1.3.

82 κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ὁδὸν Ἰνοῦς ἐστὶν ἡρώων, περὶ δὲ αὐτὸ θριγκὸς λίθων: πεφύκασι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐλαῖαι. μόνοι δὲ εἰσὶν Ἑλλήνων Μεγαρεῖς οἱ λέγοντες τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Ἰνοῦς ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια σφισιν ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς χώρας, Κλησῶ δὲ καὶ Ταυρόπολιν εὐρεῖν τε καὶ θάψαι – θυγατέρας δὲ αὐτὰς εἶναι Κλήσωνος τοῦ Λέλεγος –, καὶ Λευκοθέαν τε ὀνομασθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι πρῶτοις φασὶν αὐτὴν καὶ θυσίαν ἄγειν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος.

83 Ἰνοῦς ἄχη: Ἰνώ ἢ Κάδμου συνελθοῦσα Ἀθάμαντι δύο ἐγέννησε παῖδας, Λέαρχον καὶ Μελικέρτην, καὶ θυγατέρα Εὐρύκλειαν. Οὗτοι ὑπὸ Ἀθάμαντος μανέντος κατετοξεύθησαν. Μετὰ δὲ Μελικέρτου ἡ Ἰνώ ἔρριπεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὴν πρὸς τῷ Μολουρίῳ θάλατταν. Καὶ τὴν μὲν εἰς Μέγαρά προσβρασθεῖσαν Μεγαρεῖς ἀνελόμενοι καὶ πολυτελῶς κηδεύσαντες ἐκάλεσαν Λευκοθέαν· τὸν δὲ εἰς Κόρινθον Κορίνθιοι θάψαντες Μελικέρτην ἄγουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀγῶνα τὰ Ἰσθμια. Διὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἴρηται Ἰνοῦς ἄχη. Ἄχος γὰρ ἡ λύπη, ἀχανεῖς ποιοῦσα τοὺς κακῶς παθόντας. Ταῦτα δὲ δηλώσει καὶ Μενεκράτης ὁ Τύριος. Menekrates the Tyrian, cited here, is otherwise unknown (*FHG* II 344 F6). This etiology comes, in fact, from a tenth-century revision of Zenobios: the so-called *Zenobios Parisinus* (Ps.-Zenobios), a text that often interpolates mythological exegesis from the *Library* (for Ps.-Zenobios, see Kenens 2014: esp. 160-163). 'Ino's Sorrows', which appears as early as Ibykos (F282b Campbell), is similarly treated in Arsen. 9.61; [Plut.] *de Prov. Alex.* 6; and *Suda* I 381.

with which we began, this one too shows the Megarians using lamentation as a means of appropriation, in this case of Ino and her anguish, behind which lie events much more at home in a history of Boiotia. Megara was not the only community that staked a claim on Ino – Pausanias mentions in his book on Messenia a place along the coastal road near Korone where Ino was said to have emerged from the sea as the divine Leukothea (4.34.4). But the Megarians managed to take permanent control of Ino through obsequies, latching on to her body before her apotheosis and binding it evermore to the Megarid.⁸⁴

Graves of nonlocals do of course appear in other communities' local histories and cultural memory.⁸⁵ Pausanias himself records a good many such graves outside of Megara: in Athens, the tombs of Antiope (1.2.1), Deucalion (1.13.3), and Oedipus (1.28.8); in Corinth that of Medea's children (2.3.6); the grave of Penelope allegedly lay at Mantinea (8.12.6); that of Anchises on the road to Orchomenos (8.12.8). But the burial of nonlocals is a phenomenon especially connected to Megara. Of the more than seventy graves that Pausanias notes in Attica, only fourteen belong to foreigners, and these include historical personages: the Plataians who died at Marathon (1.32.3), the Kleonaian who came to Athens' assistance in 457 BCE (1.29.7), and Thessalians and Cretans who died fighting on behalf of the Athenians in 431 (1.29.6). Of the 27 graves that Pausanias places in the Megarid, on the other hand, a full half belong to nonlocals, and of the local occupants many come from the families of Alkathous and Megareus alone. Megara was well known for its tombs: in one striking epigram, Aratos even considered them as quintessential to Megara as columns were to Corinth (*AP* 12.129);⁸⁶ and Sulpicius Rufus may not have had only Megarian decrepitude in mind when he wrote Cicero in 45 BCE that the city was an

⁸⁴ See Nagy 1985: 79–80.

⁸⁵ Lykeas wrote in his *Argolika* about Ariadne's burial at Argos (*FGrH* 312 F4); the tomb of Idmon crops up in histories of Pontic Herakleia (*FGrH* 430 F2 and 432 F15); and the Tegean Ariaithos, who wrote in his *Arkadika* about the Peloponnesian sojourn of several Trojans (*FGrH* 316 F1), seems to have located the graves of at least Aineias and Kapys in Arkadia (cf. Dionys. Hal. 1.54.1–2).

⁸⁶ Ἀργεῖος Φιλοκλῆς Ἀργεὶ καλός, αἵ τε Κορίνθου/ στήλαι καὶ Μεγαρέων ταῦτ' ὁβῶσι τάφοι/ γέγραπται καὶ μέχρι λοετρῶν Ἀμφιαράου/ ὥς καλός. ἀλλ' ὀλίγον· γράμμασι λειπόμεθα./ τῷ δ' οὐ γὰρ πέτραι ἐπιμάρτυρες, ἀλλὰ Ῥιηνός/ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν, ἑτέρου δ' ἐστὶ περισσότερος.

“oppidi cadaver” (*Ad Fam.* 4.5.4).⁸⁷ The impression that we get from Pausanias, however, as from Dieuchidas and Teles the Cynic, is of a Megara pregnant with foreign bones.

When Megarians took it upon themselves in the late fourth and early third centuries to write about their community, they did so by recognizing that its past lay alongside, intersected with, reacted to, impinged upon other communities' pasts. This ecumenical approach to local history was not unusual so far as Greek communities of the late Classical and Hellenistic periods were concerned. What does distinguish the localism articulated by the *Megarika*, by the traditions on which these texts drew and which continued to animate the Megarian community into the age of Pausanias, was the dislocation and removal to Megara of figures from the cultural memories of other communities. These dislocations did not, however, constitute plagiarisms or “Räubereien”, as Martin Vogt once wrote, by which the Megarians sought “die Bedeutung des Heimatlandes künstlich herauszuputzen”.⁸⁸ As our survey has suggested, rather than megarize these transplants by postulating local origins, Megarian memory generally maintained their foreignness, preferring to bury them as Thebans, as Argives, as Sikyonians. Megara's self-avowed liminality was an influential trope, the foreignness of its graves axiomatic. This is evident in Pausanias's account – so accustomed is he to assign Megarian graves to nonlocals that he readily interpreted even bona fide Megarians as foreigners⁸⁹ – and elsewhere, too. According to Theokritos, in fact, Diokles, for whom the Megarians celebrated the Diokleia and whose tomb Megarian boys long venerated, was an Athenian exile (12.27–34).⁹⁰

87 post me erat Aegina, ante me Megara, dextra Piraeus, sinistra Corinthus, quae oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos iacent . . . tot oppidum cadavera.

88 Vogt 1920: 743.

89 He makes into a Samian, for example, the celebrated Megarian flautist Telephanes (1.44.6: cf. *Dem.* 21.17; *Athen.* 8.351e; and *PA* 7.159), who is called a Megarian not only by Ps.-Plutarch (*De Mus.* 1137f–1138a) but also in a fourth-century choragic inscription from Salamis (*IG* II² 3093). For Telephanes' grave, see Herda 2016: 79–81.

90 The scholiast to Theokritos gives some background to the circumstances of Diokles' death and the Diokleia held in his honor (12.27–33e), as do scholiasts to Pindar (*Ol.* 7.157; 13.156a and *Pyth.* 8.112 and 9.161). Aristophanes has his Megarian interlocutor swearing ‘By Diokles!’ in the *Acharnians* (774), which suggests an early recognition of local origins of the hero. Diokles was associated with Eleusis (see the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 153, 474, 477 and *SEG* 53.48 A.fr.3.III.71), as Plutarch tells us (*Thes.* 10), which may explain the confusion in our sources about his origin.

Nor should these memorials be understood only as attempts to foster kinship with outside communities, let alone as vestiges of an authentic cultural heritage that Megara once shared with its neighbours.⁹¹ Such relationships may indeed have existed, and there were certainly occasions when the Megarians, or groups thereof, found it beneficial to retroject ties with Boiotia or with Dorian communities to the south, or when this sort of localism, which limned the Megarid as a facilitator of movement across the isthmus, would have seemed especially attractive: in the lead-up to the Peloponnesian War, to be sure, but also in the mid fourth century, when the Megarians were faced with new and shifting hegemonies to the south and north,⁹² as well as in the decades after Chaironeia, the age of Dieuchidas, when they found themselves negotiating yet another series of alliances.

But in whichever direction the Megarian community at any one time faced, by preserving the alterity of its corpses, by dragging eminent Greeks from both sides of the isthmus, over land or from the sea, and anchoring them to Megarian earth through burial, through the monumentalization of tombs and the mechanism of remembered tears, the Megarians were able to construct a past that foregrounded their territory's vital faculty to bridge the Peloponnese and the rest of peninsular Greece, articulating a local identity that was parochial and cosmopolitan at once.

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91 See Pfister 1909: 28-29 n.80 for the contention that the Boiotian graves at Megara were indicative of Boiotian cult.

92 See Legon 1981: 298-299 and Smith (this volume).

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Chapter 9

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Megarian Local Adjudication: The Case of the Border Dispute between Epidauros and Corinth in 242-240 BCE (*IG IV².I.70* and 71)

The study of interstate relations and arbitration in the ancient Greek world has a long history. To define it briefly: interstate relations pertain to the political, economic, and military aspects of the relationship between two independent states (be it polis to polis, polis to League, League to Kingdom, or conceivably even polis to Kingdom), whereas arbitration could be considered a different, but related, topic focusing on the legal sphere. In addition, perhaps even within the overall sphere of arbitration, there should be a distinction made between the concept of arbitration and the use of foreign judges.¹

Even accepting that they are independent of each other, there could be an occasion on which interstate relations and the choosing of foreign judges overlaps and, in my view,

¹ Louis Robert has demonstrated that these two should be treated independently of each other, see: Robert 1973. Indeed, the overall subject of interstate relations, arbitration and use of foreign judges in the Ancient Greek world has been reinvigorated, and much scholarly attention has been directed toward it in the last 20 years: for interstate relations, see for example Chaniotis 2005; Eckstein 2006; McNerney 2006; Koehn 2007; Low 2007; Figueira and Jensen 2013; Nelson 2013; Beck 2016; Kralli 2017; for arbitration and use of foreign judges, see for example Ager 1996, 2013, 2015; Crowther 1995, 1999, 2006, 2007; Magonetto 1997; Harter-Uibopuu 1998; Chaniotis 2004; Roebuck 2001. This non-exhaustive list shows that this area has become quite an interesting subject to investigate. It is hoped that further epigraphical evidence will surface which will allow more concrete analyses of interstate relations, arbitration and foreign adjudication.

such an occasion presents itself in these two particular inscriptions, which describe the adjudication by the Megarians of a border dispute between the two Achaian cities of Epidauros and Corinth. It has always puzzled me as to why the Megarians, of all people, were chosen as judges, given their much less than friendly historical relations with the Corinthians. It seems that these inscriptions effectively combine the concept of interstate relations with the issue of foreign judges in that an aspect of interstate relations – namely a political one – appears to have been incorporated into the choice of the foreign judges for this case. The Achaian League, who would be cognizant of the historical record between Megara and Corinth, still specifically chose the Megarians to judge this particular case, so there must be an underlying reason. The inscriptions were found in the Asklepieion in Epidauros.² Undoubtedly there was a copy erected in Corinth. The text describes the decision made, at the behest of the Achaian League to which they all belonged at this time (242-240 BCE), by an embassy of 151 judges from Megara concerning the location of the border between Corinthian and Epidaurian territory. The specific areas under dispute were Spiraion³ and Sellas. The judges visited the location and decided in favour of the Epidaurians, but the Corinthians seemed to have objected to some of the specifics. Thus, a smaller group of 31 judges, taken from the original 151, revisited the area and clearly outlined the border region, utilizing specific geographical references. These details are recorded in lines 11-31 of the inscription. This rendering should be considered as final. After line 31, the remaining text consists of the names of all of the judges, organized by their Megarian tribal assignments: *Hylleis*, *Pamphyloi* and *Dymanes*. The relationship between the two inscriptions can be found in the first, shorter, one (#70), whereby the conditions for the entrance of Epidauros into the Achaian League are stipulated.⁴ One of these conditions states that its outstanding border dispute with Corinth must be submitted to judgement. We are fortunate enough to have another, contemporary, example of this: the dispute between Orchomenos and Megalopolis. This inscription was discovered in Orchomenos in the late nineteenth century.⁵ It seems evident that the Achaian League wished to have all territorial disputes settled in order for cities to become full members of

2 The full text of the inscriptions can be found in Ager 1996: no.38 and Smith 2008: 215-216.

3 Wiseman 1978: 136-140 for the location of Cape Spiraion.

4 Ager 1996: 116.

5 IG V.2.344, Ager 1996: no.43.

the League, and I think that this is shown by the short duration between the agreement to join the League and the Megarian arbitration taking place.

If we then accept that this appears to be customary standard practice within the Achaian League, why were the Megarians chosen to be the judges? My initial thought was that this was quite unusual given the well-known and lengthy discordant relations between Corinth and Megara. The origin for the steadfastly unfriendly relationship between these two cities goes back to the Archaic Period and revolves around the territory of the Perachora and its shrine to Hera. In this period, the Perachoran territory belonged, and had belonged for a long time, to Megara, and was a very valuable portion of its *chōra*. Indeed, according to Plutarch, one of the 5 original tribes of Megara was called the ‘Heraieis’,⁶ presumably named after the major cult of Hera found in Perachora. Whether or not previous Megarian ownership of the Perachora can be decisively proven is fodder for another paper, but suffice it to say that the Megarians themselves viewed the territory as part of their natural patrimony, hence the very tense relationship with the Corinthians.

Ager states that “the geographic location of Megara” played an important part in the selection of this city to judge.⁷ This is indeed one important aspect for choosing judges, but there were certainly other member cities of the League that were equidistant from the disputed area and relatively free from the negative historical relationship with the Corinthians which the Megarians had. For example, the distance from Megara to the arbitration zone is about 80 kilometers, which is a similar distance from either Troizen or Sikyon, two other League cities which could also have filled this role respectably. If we accept that there were other, possibly better suited, candidates based on geographical proximity for providing judges in this important dispute, we must ask, what other reason could the Achaians have had for choosing Megara?

The answer may lie with another specific characteristic of the Megarian state, a characteristic that had been in practice for about one and a half centuries by the time of this judgement. Namely, the established Megarian practice of what I term functional or practical neutrality.

⁶ Plut. *Greek Questions* #17, *Mor.* 295b–c.

⁷ Ager 1996: 117.

What do I mean by functional or practical neutrality? The devastation wrought by the Peloponnesian War, amongst which was the economically disastrous Megarian Decree, coupled with the loss of their extensive maritime trading network, forced the Megarians to look inward and take the time to reflect and to recover economically. Additionally, and unfortunately for them, their aforementioned geographic location on the Isthmus resulted in numerous crossings of their territory by many different groups, which could be quite disruptive by nature.⁸ The Megarians had to devise some method of dealing with these intrusions in a manner that would permit them to rebuild their economy and state, but at the same time remain aloof from conflict. I would argue that functional neutrality was the method on which they settled, at least unofficially. It is unclear if there were other methodologies attempted prior to this, including military action, but, ultimately, they evidently had not been successful.⁹ One of the indicators that the policy of neutrality, whether formal or informal, was a success is that we do have evidence for an economic recovery, and indications of a healthy economy during the fourth century BCE. For example, the Megarians first started minting coinage in the fourth century.¹⁰

One point that, I think, can be clearly gleaned from the above evidence is that during the fourth century BCE, the Megarians shifted their focus from a more outward looking one to a more local one. The examples above show that they steered clear, for the most part, of becoming involved in what could be termed “international” activities. It has even been suggested that the Megarians totally withdrew from the international scene because of the lack of an army, which in turn forced them to reconsider any involvement in external affairs.¹¹ This suggestion can be refuted by the fact that the Megarians did become involved in external military conflict on at least two occasions late in the fourth century BCE: the Battle of Chaironeia in 338¹² and again in 335, after the death of Philip II of Makedon. Indeed, after the last debacle, we have an inscription from Megara awarding

8 See Ager, this volume, who says that Megaris was considered very early on to be a “place of passage”.

9 One could imagine here signs being placed at the main border crossings indicating “This way to Boiotia”, “This way to Attica” or “This way to the Peloponnese”, with the locals selling provisions to travellers.

10 Pafford 2000.

11 Pausanias (10.20.4) states that Megara only supplied 400 hoplites and a handful of cavalry to a Greek force of 27,000 hoplites ranging against the Gauls in 280 BCE.

12 ... συμμάχους μὲν ὑμῖν ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας, Ἀχαιοὺς, Κορινθίους, Θηβαίους, Μεγαρέας, Λευκαδίου, Κερκυραίους... (Dem. 18.237; cf. Aesch. 3.97; Diod. 16.84.1; Paus. 10.3.3).

proxenia to Alexander the Great in order to soothe his wrath against them.¹³ In all probability, they then resumed their stance of practical neutrality and continued down to the Imperial period generally in the same fashion.

Even though we have seen that the Megarians did not, and perhaps could not, practice neutrality all the time, it seems, based on our available evidence, that this preferred policy ultimately proved successful in their case, and resulted in an economic recovery during the Hellenistic period. It should be pointed out that Megara was one of only two city-states (the other being Rhodes) whose level of settlement did not decline between the Classical and Hellenistic periods.¹⁴ In fact, contrary to the downward trend in the rest of the Greek world, there was an increase in the number of settlements in Megaris.¹⁵ Additionally, it is worth noting that the bulk of known decrees of *proxenia* from Megaris are fairly local in nature: Boiotia, Sikyon, Epidauros, Troizen, Argos, Lokris, Phlius.

We do not, as yet, possess any direct evidence of an active political plan for official neutrality, but the preponderance of circumstantial and situational evidence from both literary and epigraphical sources would seem to indicate that they pursued this avenue. As a result of this path the Megarians built up, over a period of about one and a half centuries by 240 BCE, a local reputation for fairness and diplomacy, which may have resulted in them being perceived as possessing a certain *gravitas* for dispute resolution.¹⁶

In her recent article,¹⁷ Ager clearly notes the three main characteristics that an appropriate adjudicator must have:

13 ... Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολιτείαν Μεγαρεῖς ψηφίσασθαι· τοῦ δ' εἰς γέλωτα θεμένου τὴν σπουδὴν αὐτῶν, εἰπεῖν ἐκείνους, ὅτι μόνῳ πρότερον τὴν πολιτείαν Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον αὐτῷ ψηφίσαιντο· τὸν δὲ θαυμάσαντα δέξασθαι, τὸ τίμιον ἐν τῷ σπανίῳ τιθέμενον. (Plutarch *Mor.* 826c–d).

14 It is remarkable to note that Rhodes is also the other city-state for which we have evidence of being a “neutral” state and called upon in the sphere of foreign judges, see Ager 1991.

15 Smith 2008: 80.

16 Further support for this may perhaps also be found in a passage in Plutarch's *Moralia*, in which he records an Athenian request for Megara to adjudicate a dispute between Athens and Sparta in the early fourth century. Although it appears that the Spartans did not accept the Athenian proposal for Megarian judges, it is important to note that another “natural enemy” of the Megarians – Athens – made a request for their services in regard to dispute resolution.

17 Ager 2015: 477.

Stature and Authority (Must Have Legitimacy in International System)

[I think in the case of *IG IV.2.71*, the aforementioned Megarian acquired *gravitas* would provide this aspect]

Leverage

[This, in the case of *IG IV.2.71*, would most likely have been provided by the Achaian League]

Impartiality (but not Necessarily Neutrality)

[A case can be made for Megarian local impartiality via their practiced neutrality]

It seems that the result of the Megarian adjudication between Corinth and Epidauros stood as is, which reflects the respect for their judgement.¹⁸ This respect served them well, as they will be sought after local adjudicators in the second century BCE, and perhaps even later.¹⁹

This judgement between Epidauros and Corinth is not the only example of Megarian judgement for which we have evidence, it is just the most documented. There are five other known cases, dating to the second century BCE, all of which, with one possible exception, are local. These cases are specifically concentrated in the North East

18 See Kralli (2017: 167) with regard to Corinthian acceptance of the judgement, where she states, “That there is no trace of protest by the Corinthians about the choice of the arbiter may indicate that they did not think that the Megarians had a hidden agenda”.

19 It is probable that Megara, similar to Rhodes, continued acting as adjudicators into the Roman period. Unlike the Rhodians, however, the Megarians probably confined their activities to the local.

Peloponnese and Boiotia: Tanagra; Boiotian Orchomenos; Boiotia/Achaian League; Akraiphia/neighbours; and an unknown Doric city.²⁰

The Megarian judgement between Boiotia and the Achaian League is a particularly illustrative case because the Achaians accepted a city which had only recently rejoined the League from the Boiotian League as judge. The Boiotian League, on the other hand, accepted as judge a city that had just recently left them. The same can also be said of the Megarian adjudication at Orchomenos. This choice of Megara as judge serves as evidence of the high regard in which Megarian judgement was held by this time.²¹ Indeed, it is perhaps this high regard which also served as the basis for the political catalyst mentioned above as a putative motivation for the Achaian League to appoint the Megarians in this case. It is plausible that the implicit message to be imparted to the Corinthians was that it was time to get over (or at least put aside) their long-standing hostilities for the good of the League, and what better way than to accept their long-time rivals as judges, based on their earned *gravitas*.

Megarian neutrality could not function in all cases (as was also the case for Rhodes²²), but it was a practice that seemed to serve them well enough in the long run, given that several centuries later, in the sixth century CE, the region was still sufficiently stable and prosperous enough that all three major Megarian cities, Megara, Aigosthena, and Pagai, were seats of bishops.²³

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20 Tanagra (*IG* VII.20), Boiotian Orchomenos (*IG* VII.21), Boiotia/Achaian League (Polyb. 22.4, 9–17; Ager 1996: no.105), Akraiphia/neighbours (*BCH* 1900: 74–79, *BCH* 1936: 15–18), unknown Doric city (*IG* VII.19).

21 For the importance of federalism to the Boiotians, see for example Beck and Ganter 2015; cf. Beck 2016: 95–96.

22 Ager 1991: 38–41.

23 Cf. the list in Hierokles, *Synekdemos* 645: Βουμελιττά, Θέσπαι, Ὑττος Θίσθαι, Θῆβαι, μητρόπολις Βοιωτίας, Τάναγρα, Χαλκίς νῆσος Εὐβοία, Πορθμός, Κάρυστος, Πλατέαι, Αἰγόσθυνα, Αἰγὼναι, μητρόπολις Ἀττικῆς, Μάγαρα, Πάγαι, Ἐμπόριον Κρόμων, Αἰγινῆσος.

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Chapter 10

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From the Cradle: Reconstructing the *ephēbeia* in Hellenistic Megara

If we seek to gain some measure of insight into the lived experience of a local community in the Greek world such as Megara, then the *ephēbeia* provides one of the most promising fields of study. The institution as such is predicated on the transmission and perpetuation of local customs and communal sensibilities from one generation of citizens to the next, and functions as much as a didactic process as one of civic initiation. The education of the program provides the young members of a given community with the military and civic formation necessary to fulfill their dual role in it as both hoplites and citizens. The investment of several years of each young citizen's life into this program represents a massive commitment of time and effort that only marks the beginning of his civic career. In the process of his training, bonds are formed with his fellow ephebes which further strengthen the social ties that bind the citizen community. Perhaps no other institution common to the autonomous Greek city-state so practically ensures the survival of the polis community in the realm of politics and warfare than this – in Megara as elsewhere. In spite of this centrality of the *ephēbeia* to civic life, it has been only attracted intermittent scholarly attention in the century and a half since Collignon's 1877 dissertation.¹

¹ Kennell 2006: 1-5 for its scholarly history as a topic of study, along with Vidal-Naquet 1991: 151-153 with notes.

Yet in another sense the *ephēbeia* straddles the divide between the local and trans-local, or perhaps more accurately, between the local and the Panhellenic. On the one hand the institution manifests itself quite differently among different poleis, allowing for a great deal of local idiosyncrasy which has been recently highlighted by Nigel Kennell (2006) and Andrzej Chankowski (2010). But on the other hand, the ubiquity of ephebic programmes in the third century and beyond – ‘attested in 190 cities, ranging from Marseilles to Babylon and from the Ukraine to North Africa’² – means that it is deeply woven into the fabric of the value system that unites disparate communities throughout the Greek world. In the same way that the common ideology of magistracies and assemblies manifests itself in local constitutional particularities, so too does the common valuation of civic and military formation produce myriad local ephebic programmes.³ It is precisely this negotiation between the local and the trans-local which lies at the core of my approach to the Megarian *ephēbeia* in this paper, and I hope that in trying to tease out the precise character and regime of the *ephēbeia* in the Megarid we might catch some glimpse of the communal life of its Hellenistic citizens.

The sparse evidence that we have for the *ephēbeia* in Megara and its narrow chronological timeframe have typically led scholars to view it as an institution that was imposed on the Megarians by outside forces: either the Boiotians, the Achaians, or both in sequence – or perhaps even the Athenians if we follow the threads back to the fifth century.⁴ The *ephēbeia* is thus included in that list of ‘foreign’ institutions that were not indigenous to the city or region, along with *polemarkhoi*, *damiourgoi*, or the *synedrioi* which had to be adopted by the member cities of such federal states in the name of uniformity. According to the *communis opinio*,⁵ the city’s entrance into first the Achaian League and then the Boiotian koinon brought with it a considerable modification of its political institutions: the Megarian *archontes*, *polemarkhoi*, and *synarchiai* were new imitations of the equivalent

2 Kennell 2006: vii–viii.

3 This thread was first developed by Vidal-Naquet (1991: 152), in which he mentions that the two universal criteria for advancement to citizenship in the Greek world are marriage and service in the hoplite corps of a community.

4 Chankowski 2010: 158 note 75 is his only mention of the Megarian institution in the context of his discussion of the Boiotian equivalent. Robu 2014a: 368 on the epigraphic evidence for the Megarian *ephēbeia* and its roots after the battle of Pydna, here and elsewhere – also discussed by Knoepfler and Robu 2010: 768.

5 As represented by Chankowski 2010 and Robu 2014a: 368; 2014b.

Boiotian and Achaian institutions, imported to Megara in the name of federal consistency. The *ephēbeia* thus, it follows logically, is part of this decidedly extra-local set of institutional transformations; it was not, it seems, already a Megarian institution. Chankowski perhaps inadvertently seems to support this view by only mentioning Megara's *ephēbeia* in a footnote to his discussion of the Boiotian institution.⁶

In this paper I argue instead that the few epigraphic appearances of the *ephēbeia* in Megara reveal that the institution must have existed in the region before it joined the Boiotian League. It should not be viewed as an external imposition, but rather as an institution that had long been part of the communal fabric of Megaris. The epigraphic documents at our disposal only reflect the adoption of Boiotian and Achaian habits with which to catalogue the institution, and such changes, I believe, are largely cosmetic. To reconstruct this longer ephebic history of Megara, we must first review the epigraphic evidence at our disposal and consider its place in the context of Boiotian federalism, which in turn allows some specifics of the program to be reconstructed. From then a somewhat broader chronological perspective will review potential hints of ephebic programmes in the *longue durée* of Megarian history. In the end, this particular ephebic history seems to be enigmatic to Megara, along with the garlic and salt for which this corner of Greece was justifiably renowned.

The Epigraphic Dossier

As mentioned above, all of the extant attestations of the *ephēbeia* in Megara are epigraphic and limited to the fairly narrow timespan of 223 to 146 BCE – although the second-century dates are somewhat less certain. All are roughly similar in structure and adhere to the general conventions of Hellenistic military catalogues: the inscriptions begin with dating according to an eponymous magistrate (or several), and then proceed to provide a list of personal names followed by a genitive patronymic of those who are identified as either entering or leaving the ranks of the *ephēbeia*. The city of Megara itself provides five

⁶ Chankowski 2010: 158 n75.

such catalogues,⁷ and Aigosthena provides a relatively abundant *corpus* that is generally overlooked with another nine catalogues, though a few are heavily fragmentary.⁸

These ephebic lists tend to be placed in one of two groups: first, those which follow the typical Boiotian formulary for ephebic catalogues and refer to Boiotian federal magistrates and institutions, and second, those which do not follow these conventions – generally assumed to be from the Achaian period following Megara's departure from the Boiotian koinon. *IG* VII.27 and 28 provide fitting exempla of these Boiotian-style military catalogues, and are dated by Étienne and Knoepfler to successive years – 221/220 BCE and 220/219, respectively.⁹ The former begins with the formula at lines 1–3 'ἄρχοντος Κλειμάχου, / ἐν δὲ Ὀγχηστῶι Ποτιδαίχου / ἐπολεμάρχουν' and then lists the five *polemarkhoi* for the year before the lines 'τοῖδε ἀπῆλθον ἐξ ἐφήβων / εἰς τὰ τάγματα' (l.9–10) which introduce a list of 16 names followed by patronymics. The latter inscription, *IG* VII.28 dated to the following year by Robu¹⁰ based on the chronology of Étienne and Knoepfler, follows the exact same structure but names different archons and *polemarkhoi*. Lines 1–3 read 'ἄρχοντος Ὀμόφρ[ο]νος, / ἐν δὲ Ὀγχηστῶι Ἀριστοκλέος, / πολεμαρχούντων' and then introduce the five *polemarkhoi* for the year, none of whom appear in the previous inscription. The same formula recurs at lines 9–10 with 'τοῖδε ἀπῆλθον ἐξ ἐφήβων / εἰς τὰ τάγματα', though in this case the catalogue provides 23 personal names and patronymics.

7 The five catalogues from Megara proper are: *IG* VII.27, 28, 29, 30, 31.

8 The nine catalogues from Aigosthena are:

IG VII.208 (223–201 BCE)

IG VII.209 (223–201 BCE)

IG VII.210 (223–146 BCE)

IG VII.211 (223–146 BCE)

IG VII.2.212–214? (two fragmentary lists)

IG VII.215 (217–198 BCE)

IG VII.216 (216–196 BCE)

IG VII.217 (215–194 BCE)

IG VII.218 (214–193 BCE)

9 Étienne and Knoepfler 1976: 302, 350. The dating of Étienne and Knoepfler 1976 is likewise recorded and adhered to by Robu 2014b: 103–106.

10 Robu 2014b: 107–109.

Both of these catalogues, as has been noted by Robu and Smith,¹¹ are quintessentially Boiotian: they are dated according to the civic archon in Megara, the eponymous archon in Onchestos, and by the five *polemarkhoi* for the year. *Polemarkhos* is a Boiotian office, as of course is the federal archon at Onchestos, and so in these two inscriptions Megara is fully conforming to Boiotian federal conventions.¹² The lines ‘τοῖδε ἀπῆλθον ἐξ ἐφήβων / εἰς τὰ τάγματα’ similarly recur verbatim in other Boiotian military catalogues, such as *IThesp.* 93, among many others. It should be noted that these lists detail who had completed the *ephēbeia* and was then enrolled in the hoplite ranks, thus this marks the end of their ephebic programme, not its beginning. Following the observations of Robu and Knoepfler, the reference to Potidaichos in *IG VII.27* allows the inscription to be dated to 221/220, while the archon of *IG VII.28*, Aristokleos, dates the second list to 220/219. We shall return to the ramifications of both of these points in due course. All of the equivalent lists from Aigosthena likewise comply with these Boiotian equivalents as well.¹³

The second group of military catalogues from Megara itself are somewhat different and perhaps slightly problematic. IG VII.29 is generally held to be a later document than the previous catalogues and is dated to the return of Megara to the Achaian League in either 193/2 or 206/5.¹⁴ Unlike the previous Boiotian catalogues that we have encountered above, this inscription is dated according to a ‘γραμματέυς τοῦ δάμου’ and a *gymnasiarch*, and contains a list of those being *admitted* to the ephebate – 28 individuals, in this case, who are thus beginning their ephebic training, not finishing it as in the Boiotian-styled *corpus*. The argument that this catalogue reflects the adoption of Achaian federal habits by Megara is made because of the absence of a civic and federal archon, and the presence of a

11 Robu 2014b: 106–108; Smith 2008: 110–114.

12 Compare these, for instance, with the list *IThesp.* 93 and *IG VII.1750*, lines 1–4 of which read:

[— — — —] ἄρχοντος ἐν Ὀρχεῖστοι, ἐπὶ δὲ πόλιος]

[— — , τοῖ] ἀπεγράψαντο [— — — — — ἐς]

[ἐφείβων] ἐν τὰ τάγματα

13 For instance, *IG VII.218* 1.1-3: Θεοτίμου ἄρχοντος ἐν Ὀγχηστῶι,

ἐπὶ δὲ πόλιος Ἡράκωνος, τοῖδε

ἐξ ἐφθήβων·

14 Robu 2014a: 108.

γραμματέυς τοῦ δάμου.¹⁵ Nonetheless, Smith notes that various types of *grammateis* are attested before and after the Boiotian period,¹⁶ thus the possibility exists that this inscription could pre-date the region's membership in the Boiotian League, although the ambiguity surrounding the date at which the office of *gymnasiarch* was first adopted by the city renders it a mysterious document.¹⁷ The next catalogue, IG VII.30, is too fragmentary to be dated with any certainty, as the dating formulae have been lost and it only contains a list of names.

The final inscription in our ephebic *corpus*, IG VII.31, is a somewhat shorter catalogue dated according to the 'γραμματέος τῶν συνέδρων' and the *gymnasiarch* 'ἐν Ὀλυμπείῳ'. The institutional heritage of this *grammateus* has inspired a fair bit of scholarly debate, though I am convinced by Smith's argument that this official's title is from the Boiotian period, though not after the Battle of Pydna in 167 as has elsewhere been supposed.¹⁸ This group of five ephebic catalogues from Megara itself along with the nine Boiotian-style catalogues from Aigosthena thus comprises the entirety of our epigraphic evidence for the region's *ephēbeia*. While the inscriptions are helpful in tracking the local institutional impact of the region's membership in the Boiotian and Achaian Leagues, unfortunately the evidence provides no insight into the structure or character of the ephebic program itself. We are provided only with lists of those either entering or completing the training programme, and essentially the observation to be gleaned from these is that the *ephēbeia* must have been a fairly common and widespread training regimen for the young citizens of the Megarid. The inclusion of between 16 and 28 individuals in these lists represents a fairly significant portion of the city's young citizen body, and allows us to perhaps surmise

15 Robu 2014b: 108 for the publication history of this decree and the others of the Achaian corpus first identified by Feyel. See also Robu 2014b: 108 note 47 for his further discussion of this. Smith 2008: 110–111 provides a full overview of the attestations of different types of *grammateis* in Megara.

16 Smith 2008: 111.

17 See Smith 2008: 111–112 for the full history of the office of *gymnasiarch* in Megara and environs.

18 Smith argues (2008: 111) that the presence of a *grammateus* but the absence of any magistracies specific to Megara itself must have meant that Megara simply re-named its local magistracies in accordance with Boiotian federal conventions. The *synedrion*, he notes, is simply another Boiotian term for *boula*, and thus during the period of Boiotian federal membership the *grammateus boulas kai damou* was re-named as the *grammateus* of the *synedrion*. See also Robu's discussion (2014b: 108 note 53) of the notion advanced by Knoepfler and Robu (2010: 769) which dates the institution of the *synedrion* in Megara to after Pydna.

that most young citizen men would have taken part in it.¹⁹ For more precise insights into the organization and structure of the Megarian *ephēbeia* in the third century, we must look to the detailed information which survives on the *ephēbeia* at the nearby Boiotian city of Thespiiai, which in turn allows us to reconstruct its Megarian equivalent.

The Boiotian Context

At some point between roughly 250 and 237 the Boiotian League completely re-organised its military structure after its humiliation at the hands of the Aitolians.²⁰ Although the precise date of the military reform has been a topic of heated debate, the general outcome of the overhaul is clear: a smaller, more responsive, and better trained army was now the League's ideal, and in order to produce such soldiers the League also re-organised its ephebic program with an eye to flexibility and adaptability on the battlefield. The League now mandated the creation of a standing military force composed of infantry and cavalry, while other forces were held in reserve and mobilised at times of need.²¹ Training and maintaining such an army required a massive investment of time and effort, and it comes as little surprise that our evidence for the Boiotian *ephēbeia* blossoms in the decades following these reforms. In order for the federal army to be a cohesive and effective military force, all of its member states had to be training their young men by similar means and according to consistent standards, thus uniformity becomes key to Boiotian military strategy.

Over forty military catalogues have been unearthed in Boiotia which date to after 245 and thus must be related to these mid-century military reforms. Nearly every city in the region provides at least one example: Akraiphia, Chaironea, Thisbe, Kopai, Hyettos, Anthedon,

19 For the demographic ramifications of this number of ephebes, see the discussion of Smith 2008: 105–110 and his review of previous estimations of the overall size of the city's hoplite corps in the third century.

20 Post 2012: 84–85; Pol. 20.4.4–6; Plut. *Arat.* 16.1.

21 Feyel 1942 provides several contradictory dates for the reform, namely between 250 and 250 at one point (Feyel 1942: 197) but then later between 245 and 237 (302). On paleographic grounds, Roesch (1988: 309 and 341) dates the reform to some point after 245 but provides no further specification. Chankowski 2010 argues that perhaps some of the ephebic inscriptions pre-date the reform (2011: 163–164). Post 2012 provides an insightful overview of the many aspects of these reforms.

Thebes, Orchomenos, and especially Thespiiai produce military catalogues that align with the Boiotian epigraphic standards that we have seen manifest themselves in Megara.²² This ephebic program was spread across all of Boiotia, and is attested in both coastal and inland communities of greatly varied size.²³ All of this taken together has led Chankowski to conclude that this ephebic regime, ‘s’agit d’un système universellement adopté dans ce koinon’.²⁴ The practical military emphasis of the program is striking, particularly when we bear in mind that by this point in the third century the *ephēbeia* in Athens had become a primarily civic and social institution of increasingly less popularity.²⁵ The sheer number of young men enrolled in the Boiotian *ephēbeia* is similarly impressive: while in 246/245 Athens only had 20 ephebes, even a small community like Thespiiai had between 86 and 92 ephebes at roughly the same time.²⁶ That Megara enrolled up to 28 men in just one year (as in *IG VII.28*) is revelatory and proves that new additions to the koinon were no exception to the trend.

In considering the Boiotian federal *ephēbeia* we are thus dealing with a pervasive system overseen by the koinon which was uniformly implemented in all of its constituent communities according to a fairly specific structure. A famous inscription unearthed in Thespiiai in 1967 and first published by Paul Roesch in 1974 allows us to recreate the specifics of the system.²⁷ Given its bearing on our reconstruction of the Megarian *ephēbeia*, the inscription merits quotation in full, following Emily Mackil’s text and translation:

Φαίνω ἄρχοντος, ἔδοξε τοι δάμοι
 πρόξενον εἶμεν τας πόλιος Θεισ-
 πιείων Σώστρατον Βατράχω Ἀθανα-
 4 ον κῆ αὐτὸν κῆ ἐκγόνως κῆ εἶμεν αὐ-
 [τ]οις γας κῆ φοικίας ἔππασιν κῆ φι-
 [σο]τέλειαν κῆ ἀσφάλιαν κῆ ἀσουλί-

22 Roesch 1982: 342–345 for the full catalogue of inscriptions, as well as the Thespian examples included in *IThesp.* 88–135.

23 See also a broader discussion of the history of the Boiotian *ephēbeia* in McAuley 2015: 302–320.

24 Chankowski 2010: 161.

25 Roesch 1982: 316–319; Chankowski 2010: 114–142.

26 Roesch 1982: 316–319.

27 Roesch 1982: 307–354; *SEG* 32.496; *IThesp.* 29, most recently published as Mackil 2013: Dossier no. 27.

[αν] κῆ πολέμῳ κῆ ἱράνας ἰώσας κῆ κα-
8 τὰ γαν κῆ κατὰ θάλατταν κῆ τάλλα
πάντα καθάπερ κῆ τοῖς ἄλλοις προ-
ξένοις· Ἐπειδεῖ νόμος ἐστὶ ἐν τοῖς κοι-
νοι Βοιωτῶν τὰς πόλεις παρεχόμεν
12 διδασκάλως οἵτινες διδάξονθι
τῶς τε παιδᾶς κῆ τῶς νειανίσκως
τοξευόμεν κῆ ἀκοντιδόμεν
κῆ τάδδεσθη συντάξις τὰς περὶ
16 τὸν πόλεμον, κῆ Σώστροτος φιλο-
τίμως ἐπιμεμέλειται τῶν τε παίδων
κῆ τῶν νειανίσκων, ὑπαρχόμεν Σωσ-
στράτοι τὸ φέργον παρ τὰς πόλεις ἅως
20 κα βείλειται, ἐπιμελομένοι τῶν τε παί-
δων κῆ τῶν νειανίσκων κῆ διδάσκον-
τι καθὰ ὁ νόμος κέλεται· μισθὸν δ' εἰ-
μεν αὐτοὶ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ πένταρας
24 μνας.

Translation:

When Phaeinos was archon, resolved by the people that Sostratos son of Batrachos

the Athenian should be *proxenos* of the polis of Thespiiai, he and his descendants,

and they should have the right to acquire land and houses, along with *i[so]teleia*,

asphaleia, and *asylia* in war and peace, by land and by sea, and all the other rights and

privileges belonging to the other *proxenoi*. Because there is a law of the *koinon* of the

Boiotians that the poleis must provide trainers who will teach the boys and the youths to shoot bows, to hurl javelins and to draw up ranks in battle array for wartime

situations, and because Sostratos zealously took charge of the boys and youths,
it was resolved by the polis for Sostratos to undertake the task, having charge of
the
boys and youths and teaching them as the law requires. Let him be paid
annually
four mnas.

Unsurprisingly, this rich inscription has inspired a great deal of comment and debate ranging from Roesch's initial publication in 1974 and his expanded consideration in 1982 to the more recent analyses of both Chankowski and Post.²⁸ Specifics of the decree, such as the relative value of Sostratos' salary and the question of which age groups are referred to by *neaniskoi* and *paides* have been thoroughly discussed elsewhere and need not detain us here.²⁹ The legal framework of the decree is clear: there is a law in the koinon of the Boiotians (lines 10–12) stating that each city in the federation must provide teachers for the young boys, specifically in the skills of archery and javelin-throwing, as well as maneuvering in formation (lines 12–16). These skills are noteworthy in and of themselves: alongside traditional training in hoplite warfare (lines 15–16), we also find the somewhat unconventional talents of archery and javelin-throwing (τοξευόμεν κῆ ἀκοντιδδέμεν) which Post notes are more reminiscent of a Homeric aristocratic warrior *ethos* than the

28 Roesch 1982: 322–346; Chankowski 2010: 160–164; Post 2012: 98–102.

29 See preceding references, particularly Roesch's (1982: 322–346) detailed summation of the question and the divergent possible responses. Roesch ultimately concludes that the *neaniskoi* must be men of the city aged 20–22 who would have recently completed their ephebic training, though Chankowski (2010: 162–164) counters by noting that this would be the only attestation in epigraphic or literary sources of *neaniskoi* being older the ephebes. Chankowski advances several alternative accounts, including his observation that elsewhere a *neaniskos* is a young man who is near the age of majority but not yet an *ephēbos*, providing a middle ground between a *pais* and an ephebe. His mention that in the Athenian context *neaniskos* is synonymous with ephebe is interesting, though in my opinion this is not applicable to the Thespian case because the inscription clearly refers to the ephebes as being in a distinct and different group, and elsewhere the Thespian tendency is to simply call them the ephebes explicitly, as in *IG VII.1755*; 1750; 1748; 1749; or before 245 they were called simply *oi neoteroi* in *SEG 3.333*, *IG VII.1747*. Further supporting Chankowski's idea that the *neaniskoi* are the group in between the *paides* and the ephebes themselves is the observation that it makes more sense to have one teacher in charge of students between the ages of 12 and 14, and 15 and 17, but it would be illogical for him to have charge of two groups aged 12–14 and 20–22.

traditional skills of a Classical hoplite.³⁰ At any rate, in the combination of all three combat talents we see the reflection of the koinon's new emphasis on the adaptability of its troops on the battlefield, and thus the by-product of the mid-century military reforms. Any one of these skills would have been difficult enough to master; perfecting all three would have taken years of effort. In the end, though, this training program at Thespiiai would have produced young men who were highly flexible and responsive fighters, as would other cities throughout the League.

Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of this inscription is that by law throughout the Boiotian koinon these martial skills are supposed to be taught to young men *before* they enter the *ephēbeia* proper from ages 18–20. Sostratos himself, the *didaskalos* who is honoured by this decree, is recognised for his diligence in teaching two groups of young men – the *paides* and the *neaniskoi* – neither of which are the ephebes themselves. The ages referred to by such terms, between 12 and 14 for the *paides* and 15 to 17 for the *neaniskoi*, mean that the Boiotian program of military formation and training began when the boys were twelve and lasted until they completed the *ephēbeia* at age 20 – thus making for an eight-year period of military training. In addition, passing references to philosophers teaching in Boiotian gymnasia during roughly the same period of the League's history lead us to surmise that this program of education was not exclusively military, but also had civic and philosophical components as well.³¹

Between the decree's specific mention of a federal law requiring this throughout the koinon, and the abundance of similar material from all over Boiotia, there does not seem to be any reason to think that Thespiiai was an exception to these federal mandates, and neither is there any reason to think that this ephebic program would not have been implemented in Megara as well. Based on the parallel data from elsewhere in the Boiotian League, then, we gain a remarkably clear picture of what civic life would have been like for the Megarid's young aspiring citizens during the period stretching from roughly 224 and 193 in the case of Megara itself, and from 224–146 in Aigosthena. Over the course of

³⁰ Post 2012: 101–102.

³¹ An inscription from Haliartos, *IG* VII.2849, mentions the ephebes of the city being active in the *gymnasion* and attending lectures that were given by a travelling philosopher, a component of the *ephēbeia* which is also discussed by Chankowski 2010: 160–161.

six years stretching from ages 12 to 18, these young men would have been shaped into citizens whose military education can safely be described as downright Homeric in its variety, and whose philosophical formation would have prepared them for the more abstract aspects of civic life. All of this was merely preface to the ephebic program proper which began at age 18 and then continued until their enrolment in the hoplite corps at age 20, when they at last made the transition *eis ta tagmata* and thus to full citizenship. Unfortunately, our parallel Boiotian evidence does not permit extensive insight into the duties or responsibilities of the ephebes themselves, though based on the general military strategy of the League we can perhaps surmise that they were engaged in patrols of the countryside in order to safeguard the League's territorial integrity.³²

Beyond Boiotia: The Longer History of the Megarian Ephēbeia

For this relatively narrow span of time in which the communities of the Megarid were part of the Boiotian League we are quite well-informed on the intricacies of its ephebic training programmes, but based on other observations about our data I argue that the analytical envelope can be pushed somewhat further, and a broader re-construction of the region's citizen training programmes before its adherence to the League is possible. I will address three observations before proposing a few moments in the region's history at which what would later be known as the Megarian *ephēbeia* might have begun to emerge.

First, there is a chronological problem with attributing the Megarian *ephēbeia* entirely to the region's membership in the Boiotian League. By all accounts our literary testimony attests that in 224/3 Megara along with an independent Aigosthena left the Achaian League and joined the Boiotian League, as has been discussed by other contributions to this volume.³³ The first 'Boiotian' ephebic catalogue discussed above (*IG VII.27*) with its reference to the archonship of Potidaichos has been dated to 221/220 according to the

³² A strategy described by Beck and Ganter 2015, and Post 2012: 90–96.

³³ These various shifts in power and allegiance are discussed by Smith 2008: 105–108. See also Plut. *Arat.* 24, Pol. 2.37.10 Strabo 8.7.3, and the condition of the independence of Aigosthena and Pagai at Plut. *Arat.* 24, Pol.2.37.10.

chronology of Étienne and Knoepfler.³⁴ The subsequent inscription with its reference to the archon Andronikos can also be dated to the following year, thus 220/219. Both inscriptions, as mentioned earlier, contain lists of young men who are *leaving* the *ephēbeia* and entering the hoplite ranks.

If indeed the Megarian *ephēbeia* is simply a Boiotian import that was instituted here in the name of federal consistency, then this span of two or three years is a remarkably quick period in which to produce a first graduating class of Megarian ephebes, to the point of being implausible. According to the federal norms mentioned above, the *ephēbeia* proper was at least two years long, and thus Megara would have had to enter the league, ratify its membership, organise trainers and facilities for its men of age for the *ephēbeia*, and then train them to federal standards over two years in this small chronological window. This scenario is particularly implausible when we bear in mind that the ‘full’ Boiotian federal training program as outlined by the Sostratos Decree lasted eight years, and only the last step of this was the *ephēbeia* itself. In short, it does not seem that there is enough time for the adoption and institution of this program from nothing. Even if the chronology of Étienne and Knoepfler is off by a few years, the general point remains.

These two ‘Boiotian’ style catalogues along with their cousins from Aigosthena, all of which feature high numbers of ephebes being attested in the first years of the region’s membership in the koinon, either indicate or at the very least suggest that there must have been a Megarian *ephēbeia* in place before it joined the Boiotian League. The presence of these catalogues and their formulary, then, are just a means of bringing an already-extant ephebic program into line with Boiotian customs of organisation and record-keeping. The Megarian *ephēbeia* persisted, as it were, just with different window dressing.

Second, I do not believe that the Megarian *ephēbeia* can be attributed purely to the region’s membership in the Achaian League either. While the Boiotian federal *ephēbeia* is extremely well-attested with a high degree of consistency among its member states during the third century, an equivalent Achaian federal system is not indicated by the available evidence, neither in the third century nor later. Drawing on Nigel Kennell’s invaluable register of

³⁴ Étienne and Knoepfler 1976: 303 and 337–342 for the dating of this decree to 221 or 220, and the decree mentioning Andronikos to 220 or 219. The broader federal context to all of this is discussed by Robu 2014b: 107–109.

Greek cities with ephebic programmes (2006) along with the database he continues to maintain, there are only a handful of such attestations from cities within the Achaian League whose disparity in terminology and date leads me to conclude that there was no Achaian federal *ephēbeia*. Among its member states, only Tegea and Mycenae have explicit attestations of *ephēboi* and these occur at disparate dates in the second century.³⁵ Pausanias' mention (2.10.7) that Sikyon has a gymnasium for the city's ephebes would suggest an ephebic program there, but any further details of date or structure are unknown. Finally, an inscription from Aigina containing the will of a peripatetic philosopher (DL 5.71) notes that certain revenues of his estate were to be given to the city's *neaniskoi*. The inscription is dated roughly to the second century BCE, though it is unclear whether the *neaniskoi* referred to here are simply young men being educated, or a more specific group of pre-ephebic adolescents as we have seen at Thespiai. Given these scant and idiosyncratic attestations of a later date, it seems safe to conclude that the Achaian League did not have a federal ephebic program instituted consistently among its member states, and thus the Megarian *ephēbeia* cannot simply be an imitation of an Achaian precedent.

Third, thanks to Philip Smith's detailed analysis of Megara's civic bodies and magistracies,³⁶ it becomes clear that these somewhat superficial changes to the city's ephebic program as attested in the epigraphic catalogue fit neatly into an already-established pattern of institutional adaptation. Whenever Megara changed its allegiance to either the Achaian or the Boiotian League, he notes, the city also changed the appearance – though not the substance or duties – of its civic magistracies. *Stratagoi* are renamed *polemarkhoi*, *grammateis boulas kai tou dēmou* are renamed *grammateus tōn synedrion*, *basileus* becomes *archōn*, the body of the *boula* is called the *synedrion*, and so on.³⁷ Again, the functions of these bodies and offices do not substantially change, only their titles and the formulae with which they are recorded. In the same vein, by Smith's estimate Megaris changed allegiance roughly

35 See the relevant entries in Kennell 2006, which is organised alphabetically. For Tegea: IG V.2 43 and 44 contain a list of ephebes dated according to a *grammateus* and a *gymnasiarch* from late in the second century BCE, c.125–100. The opening lines of IG V.2 44 are heavily fragmentary, and the rest of the inscription provides personal names and patronymics. For Mycenae: IG IV 497 contains honours for a certain Protimus who is praised for having saved the city's *ephēboi* from Nabis of Sparta, typically dated to 197–195 BCE. Note that the vastly different format of the inscriptions further leads me to conclude that there was no standardised ephebic program in the Achaian League.

36 Smith 2008: 108–114.

37 See Smith 2008's detailed discussion of each individual magistracy at 110–114.

ten times during the period stretching from 336 to 192.³⁸ This is, it seems, too short of a time span to have seen so many profound reconfigurations of the city's civic structures and traditions, and so instead these changes ought to be considered as fundamentally superficial. Underneath these cosmetic changes to the city's constitution, there is a strong current of continuity in the civic practices of Megara, and it does not seem that the *ephēbeia* should be an exception to this.

If the origins of the Megarian *ephēbeia* cannot be traced to either the Boiotian or Achaian Leagues, then we should turn our attention to the Megarians themselves. While the temptation, here as elsewhere, is to point to a specific moment or crisis in a community's history and surmise that this brought about the rapid creation of an ephebic programme, these types of training regimes and the civic ideology which supports them do not emerge instantaneously. In reconstructing the longer history of this specific *ephēbeia*, it is necessary to bear in mind Lynn Kozak's comments regarding the development of the institution: discussing the third century spread of epigraphically-attested programme, she notes that 'these institutions did not appear *ex nihilo*, but emerged from traditional, community-based forms of civic and military education.'³⁹ By means of conclusion, then, I shall consider certain moments in Megara's local history that may mark the gradual development of the sense of civic participation and military training that later crystallised in the third-century *ephēbeia* that we have encountered above.

Conclusions

Re-constructing the Megarian *ephēbeia* by inference from parallel programmes in Boiotia or elsewhere is only helpful for as long as the region was part of this federation, and in order to identify the unique aspects of its history in this particular region we must turn our attention back to the local level. Besides being another manifestation of the Boiotian *ephēbeia* from 224-193, what else can be said of the local idiosyncrasy of the Megarian regimen?

³⁸ Smith 2008: 105-108.

³⁹ Kozak 2013: 306.

The city's geography may contain the first hints. The cult of Zeus Olympios (or Olympieios) is one of the principal civic cults of Hellenistic Megara, with its sanctuary at the north-west foot of the Karian acropolis.⁴⁰ Epigraphic evidence attests to the presence of the cult and activity at the sanctuary during the fourth and third centuries, and Smith has surmised based on Pausanias that the cult had been popular since the Archaic Period.⁴¹ The sanctuary similarly appears in our ephebic epigraphic catalogue: *IG* VII.31 mentions quite specifically a man named Matroxenos, 'gymnasiarch at Olympieios,' at line 2 of the inscription, presumably in order to distinguish him from the other *gymnasiarch* in Megara identified by *IG* VII.29 (lines 3-4).⁴² According to the hypothesis of Peter Liddel,⁴³ the blocks on which these ephebic lists were carved formed part of the wall of which the sanctuary was constructed. If this is the case, there is then a clear connection between the city's ephebic program (as well as the ephebes themselves) and the civic cult of Zeus Olympieios, and thus the institution is part of the city's religious traditions as well as its civic and military. Perhaps we can surmise that the Megarian ephebes have the same obligation to honour their ancestral and civic gods as we find in the ephebic oath from Acharnai, for instance, and that there was a religious component to the training programme.⁴⁴ This would certainly be in line with the predominantly religious character of early Greek rituals of initiation and coming-of-age described by Pierre Vidal-Naquet, which we may well consider as the precursors to the formalised institution of the *ephēbeia*.⁴⁵

Regardless, with two gymnasiarchs, each presumably presiding over his own gymnasium, we gain some sense of the scale of the Megarian *ephēbeia* and its religious associations. Also noteworthy is the fact that Megara's other *gymnasion* was located by the gate of the nymphs at the edge of the city, and contained the sanctuary of Apollo Karinos. Again, it is

40 Zeus was a particularly prominent deity in Megara, and is attested with four epithets or aspects. For a full discussion, see Smith 2000: 252-254.

41 Smith 2000: 253-254.

42 Megara, then, according to Smith (2008: 112), must have had more than one gymnasiarch, a pattern which is also attested in cities like Tanagra and Thespiai.

43 Liddel 2009: 430; Robu 2014b: 107.

44 *R&O* 88, also discussed by Kozak 2013: 302-310.

45 Vidal-Naquet (1991: 152) sums it up: 'L'éphébie trouve ses racines dans des pratiques anciennes d'apprentissage par les jeunes gens de leur futur rôle de citoyens et de père de famille; bref, de membres de la communauté.'

fitting that this other *gymnasion* for ephebic training would be located near another prominent civic deity, and again we see a connection between the Megarian *ephēbeia* and its particular religious traditions. To add a further level of nuance, at Megara (as many other places) Apollo is often twinned with Artemis and the pair of twins are honoured as the hunter gods – and so perhaps this is an element of the experience of liminality to integral to Greek coming-of-age rituals described by Vidal-Naquet (1991).

And what of Athens? Can the Megarian *ephēbeia* be viewed as simply an imitation of its famous Attic neighbour, as seems to be the case in some cities of Euboea and elsewhere in the Mainland?⁴⁶ Perhaps, though there is no evidence for this. The presence of the Athenian ephebes at Salamis' annual religious festival of the Aiantēia in 213/212 provides a vector of contact, but little else.⁴⁷ There is no concrete attestation that would lead us to think that the Megarians were simply copying the Athenian model in their own ephebic practices.⁴⁸ In this, as elsewhere, I do not see the need to presume that a region of such antiquity and archaic renown would feel the need to imitate the institutions of their neighbours in all things. It is easy to forget what a center of gravity Megara was in its own right in the Archaic Period, and the tendency towards athenocentrism in its constitutional history should be resisted, particularly when we bear in mind that the region's geographical situation exposed it to just as many Peloponnesian influences as Attic.

It is precisely to this southerly direction that we may turn for some hints as to the institutional pedigree of the Megarian *ephēbeia*, or at least the origins of the city's methods of civic and military education that would later be organised into the Hellenistic program as described above. A clue to this all may lie in the prevalence of the number five in Megara's civic structure and magistracies: as Philip Smith has noted, the city had five

46 Chankowski 2010: 164–165 for the Athenian origins of the Boiotian *ephēbeia*. The *ephēbeia* at Eretria in Euboea, Chankowski concludes, is an imitation of its Athenian cousin as discussed at Chankowski 1993: 18–19 and 2010: 144–158. Considering the athenocentrism of the history of the *ephēbeia* more generally, it is noteworthy that Chankowski's 2010 monograph on the institution begins with an extremely detailed examination of the Athenian program followed by his treatments of its attestations elsewhere. For this, as with many other institutions of Greek government, perhaps undue influence is accorded to Athens.

47 IG II³.1313, 1.21–22, discussed by Robu 2014a: 366–368.

48 We may also note that according to Vidal-Naquet (1991: 153) the Athenian *ephēbeia* is itself a formalised equivalent of the Spartan *krypteia*.

damourgoi (IG VII.41), five *aisymnatai* (IG VII.15), and five *stratagoi* or *polemarkhoi*, which altogether make fifteen executive magistrates, the same number attested in Byzantion's *pentekaideka*. According to Plutarch (*Mor.* 295b, also Thuc. 4.70.1), the region originally counted five *kōmai*, and there is a third century attestation of a mysterious subdivision, the *hekatostyes* in Megara itself, though previous attestations of the unit in Megarian colonies hints that they had existed for much longer.⁴⁹ The organisation of the civic body into the three traditional Dorian *phylai* is attested in Classical Megara,⁵⁰ and this along with the prevalence of five in the city's constitution has led Roussel and other to conclude that Megara was heavily influence by Argos (and perhaps Sparta as well) in the development of its civic structure.⁵¹ Perhaps, then, the Megarian *hekatostyes* are analogous to the Argive *pentekostyes*.⁵²

The structure of the civic body that emerges, following Smith, is this: each *komē* of Megara's territory provided one member to each of the major colleges of magistrates – *damourgoi*, *asymnatai*, *statagoi* – and each *komē* may also have been arranged militarily into a *hekatostyes*, a group of 100 men. The *stratagos* from each *komē* would have commanded the unity, and thus we have a standing force of 500 hoplites which would in theory be maintained at all times.⁵³ If this institutional reconstruction is correct, then perhaps the precursor to the Megarian *ephēbeia* was the system designed to train and educate these men on the level of the *komē* for their subsequent service in the city's hoplite corps. In this we would see a similar proto-ephebic dynamic of combined military and civic training on the local level that has been discussed by Lynn Kozak (2013). This training system would then have been formalised over time at the level of the city rather than the individual *komē*, and its mechanisms of record-keeping brought into line with Boiotian standards when the city joined the League in the third century.

49 For the third century *hekatostyes*, see IG IV².1 42.18–21, and for other attestations of *komai* and the city's earlier subdivisions see Legon 2004: 463–464.

50 SEG 39.411, Legon 2004: 464.

51 Roussel 1976: 253, and Piérart 1983 on the relationship between the phratries and *kōmai* of Argos. See also the discussion of Robu 2014: 377–379 on this question of tribes and the prominence of five in Megara.

52 Pentekostyes at Argos: SEG 30.355, or a combination of the two SEG 33.288; Piérart 2000: 297–301.

53 Smith 2008: 114.

The idea of popular (or ‘common’) participation in the city’s military extends further back in Megarian history. According to Aristotle (*Rhetoric* 1357b), the tyrant Theagenes gained the favour of the people and was granted a bodyguard by the common assembly, much to the dismay of the city’s aristocrats.⁵⁴ This confidence of the people based on hostility to the rich, as Aristotle phrases it, may be a very indirect mytho-historial *testimonium* of an early type of civic participation in the military. Speculation, to be sure, but nonetheless I hope it is evident that there are several moments which reveal the motif of the citizen hoplite is a mainstay in Megarian history.

The ideology of civic participation in the life of Megara, and of the engagement of the community in its common affairs, is as old as the literary sources for the region’s history themselves. Theognis (27-30), the Megarian poet *par excellence*, wrote ‘it is as a benefit to you, Kyrnos, that I will give you the lessons which I learned from good men in my own youth. Be wise, and seek neither honour nor virtue nor substance on account of dishonourable or shameful deeds.’⁵⁵ In a sense, perhaps the lessons which Theognis learned from the good men of Archaic Megara were not so different from those imparted in the city’s gymnasia by the *didaskaloi* of the third and second centuries who were charged with forming the community’s next generation of citizen-warriors. The presentation and the appearance of this system of civic and military education may have changed dramatically over the centuries separating the poet from these teachers, but this particular vector of localism, as is the case with so many others in the history of this region, remained strikingly consistent amid the peaks and valleys of its fortunes.

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⁵⁴ See the broader discussion of Smith 2008: 100-103, and Arist. *Pol.* 1305a 22-24.

⁵⁵ σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ εὖ φρονέων ὑποθήσομαι, οἷά περ αὐτός
Κύρν', ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν ἔμαθον. πέπνυσσο,
μηδ' αἰσχροῖσιν ἐπ' ἔργμασι μηδ' ἀδίκοισιν
τιμὰς μηδ' ἀρετὰς ἔλκεο μηδ' ἄφενος.

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Chapter 11

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Megara and ‘the Megarians’: a City and its Philosophical School*

When Plato left Athens after the death of Socrates, he first went, along with other members of Socrates’ former entourage, to Megara. More or less nothing is known about his stay there, yet it is possible to ascertain the motives for his decision to leave his native city and relocate to a place where, in the words of the Cynic Diogenes, the inhabitants “feast as if to die tomorrow, and build as if they were never to die at all”¹. Aside from the

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1 SSR² II Diogenes Sinopeus (= V B) fr. 285 (p. 341) *apud Tert. Apol.* 39.14: *Megarenses obsonant quasi crastina die morituri, aedificant uero quasi numquam morituri*. – On this saying and its parallels, see Legon 1981: 257 n. 1. See also Packmohr 1913: 89; Overwien 2005: 388.

geographical proximity of Megara and its oligarchic regime,² the reason was, according to Plato's student Hermodoros of Syracuse,³ that the fugitives from Athens were eager to meet Eukleides, a former student of Socrates himself and founder of the so-called Megarian school.⁴ Although Megara could not compete with Athens in terms of a vibrant philosophical scene, the city was by no means a place without relevance in the history of philosophy, especially in the late Classical and early Hellenistic times. This aspect is widely ignored in studies on ancient Megara, due to the prevalent force of Athenocentrism in the study of the history of philosophy.⁵

It is not the aim of the present paper to revise this image either. Rather, this contribution elaborates on the idea that a philosophical school existed in Megara that was identified through association with its place – a school of thinkers who took their name from the city and thus were known as Megarians.⁶ It is also not my intention to outline a history of the Megarian school.⁷ Rather, I seek to locate it in the local (discourse) environment of the city; to ask for interactions between the city of Megara, its citizens and inhabitants respectively, and the school and its members;⁸ and, as far as possible, to embed the

2 On Megara's constitutional order in the early 390s, see Legon 1981: 263 as well as Gehrke 1985: 109 with n. 15 with reference to Pl. *Cri.* 53b.

3 *FGrH* 4A Hermodoros of Syracuse 1008 F 1a+b = Hermod. Plat. fr. 1-2 Isnardi Parente²: *apud* Diog. Laert. 2.106, 3.6. See Erler 2007: 46; see also Haake forthcoming. Cf. Döring 1972: 76-77.

4 For Eukleides' biography, it suffices to refer to Muller 2000b. According to Pl. *Phd.* 59c, he was present at Socrates' death; Xenophon, however, did not mention him in his *Memorabilia*.

5 This is true, e.g., in respect to Highbarger 1927 (whose announced second volume on Megara including cultural aspects of the city [xi; see also Highbarger 1923: iii] was never published); Hanell 1934; Legon 1981; Gehrke 1986: 140-144.

6 In a largely unnoticed passage of the prologue to his *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, Diogenes Laertius mentions the various possibilities to name a philosophical school, among them the designation ἀπὸ πόλεων (1.17). Even if it is, in general, possible to explain the origins of a name of a philosophical school, it is an unsolved question as to how and by whom philosophical schools were named and for which reason(s) a specific name was chosen. The remarks by Gigon (1960: 60) on Diog. Laert. 1.17 are anything but exhaustive; cf. also Cambiano 1977: 27-35.

7 In this respect, see von Fritz 1931; Montoneri 1984: 15-226; Muller 1988; Döring 1998: 207-237.

8 It is worth noting that, in order to avoid misconceptions, in Ancient Greek the ethnicity of the inhabitants of Megara is Μεγαρεύς, pl. Μεγαρεῖς (Legon 2004: 463), whereas the name of the members of the school is Μεγαρικός, pl. Μεγαρικοί, a term rarely attested; see Döring 1989: 296. In English the form "Megarician(s)" is uncommon (a rare exception is Bocheński 1951: 77-102); both the inhabitants of the city and the members of the school are therefore mostly called Megarians.

Megarian school in the Megarian localscape.⁹ To achieve this goal, I will examine the presence of Megarian philosophers in Megara as well as their visibility, and engagement, in the local cosmos of the city. The first step, however, will be to address some general problems in respect to the Megarian school that make things even more difficult than the outlined approach would suggest. In the concluding observations, a remarkable piece of evidence, dating to the second century CE, will be introduced in order to demonstrate that, at a time when the Megarian school was long gone, its founder continued to be remembered as an icon of local pride.

Tracing the Megarian School

Among the various Socratic schools, the Megarians are probably the least known philosophical group, owing to the paucity of available evidence.¹⁰ To name only the most crucial, and probably the most astonishing of the many unsolved problems regarding the Megarians, it is far from being clear as to what extent the Megarians can be characterized as a philosophical school in the rigid sense of the term at all, and if so, what the term ‘school’ entails in their particular case.¹¹

Yet, let us consider some statements from ancient authors: Aristotle mentions the Megarians in his *Metaphysics*;¹² Epicurus wrote a treatise entitled *Against the Megarians*;¹³ Strabo knew that Megara,

9 The term ‘-scape’ is in part borrowed from the title of a workshop organized by Anja Slawisch and Michael Loy in Cambridge, March 22–23, 2018: *Shedding Light on the Matter: Ideascapes and Material Worlds in the Land of Thales*.

10 See, e.g., Muller 1988: 11. Three collections of fragments and testimonies (with commentary and partly in translation) are available: Döring 1972; Montoneri 1984; Muller 1985. See also, indispensably, Giannantoni’s *SSR² I Euclidis et Megaricorum Philosophorum Reliquiae* [= II A–S] [p. 375–483]. If referring to ‘Megarian’ sources, I will generally restrict myself to reference the text according to its edition in Giannantoni’s *SSR²*, as well as in Döring’s collection and to mention the ancient author (and, if necessary, his work) who quotes the respective fragment. In general, I refrain from referring to the commentaries on the Megarians. It is easy to find the relevant passages.

11 See, e.g., Cambiano 1977; Montoneri 1984 (esp. 67–72, 202–205, 224–225); Muller 1988: 44–48; Döring 1989.

12 Arist. *Metaph.* 1046b29–32 (IX 3.1) [= *SSR²* Eubulides (= II B) fr. 15 (p. 393) = fr. 130A Döring]. See Giannantoni 1993.

“once even had schools of philosophers who were called the Megarian sect, these being the successors of Eukleides, the Socratic philosopher, a Megarian by birth.”¹⁴

and Diogenes Laertius explained in his *Life of Eukleides* that,

“his followers were called Megarians after him, then Eristics, and at a later date Dialecticians, that name having first been given to them by Dionysius of Chalkedon because they put their arguments into the form of question and answer.”¹⁵

What can be deduced from these and other testimonies is that the Megarian philosophers were a group of people who were considered to be philosophers, though distinct from other philosophers. Their technique of questioning and reasoning is labeled “Megarian(-styled)” by Plutarch in his treatise *On Stoic Self-Contradictions*, when criticizing Chrysippos for his attacks on Megarian philosophers.¹⁶ The verb *μεγαρίζω* has been used by Diogenes Laertius to describe the habit of following the Megarian philosopher Stilpo, thus to “megarise”.¹⁷ The *Suda* (tenth century CE) also contains the entry *Μεγαρίσαι*.¹⁸

13 The title is known from Diogenes Laertius' catalogue of works of Epicurus: Diog. Laert. 10.27 [= SSR² Eubulides (= II B) fr. 17 (p. 396) = fr. 194 Döring = Epicur., p. 21 Arrighetti]. On Epicurus' and the Epicureans' critical attitude toward the Megarians, see Sedley 1976: 144–147.

14 Str. 9.1.8 [= SSR² I Euclides (= II A) F 29 (p. 385–386) = F 43A Döring] (transl. by H.L. Jones): ἔσχε δέ ποτε καὶ φιλοσόφων διατριβὰς τῶν προσαγορευθέντων Μεγαρικῶν, Εὐκλείδην διαδεξαμένων ἄνδρα Σωκρατικόν, Μεγαρέα τὸ γέ.

15 Diog. Laert. 2.106 [= SSR² I Dionysius Chalcedonius (= II P) (p. 469) = F 31 Döring] (transl. by R.D. Hicks): Εὐκλείδης ἀπὸ Μεγάρων (...) καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Μεγαρικοὶ προσηγορεύοντο, εἴτ' Ἐριστικοί, ὕστερον δὲ Διαλεκτικοί, οὓς οὕτως ὠνόμασε πρῶτος Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκηδόνιος διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἐρώτησιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν τοὺς λόγους διατίθεσθαι. – On Dionysius of Chalkedon, see Muller 1994. On the quoted passage, see Sedley 1977: 77; Döring 1989: 301–303.

16 Plut. *Mor.* 1036e–f [= SSR² I Stilpon (= II O) fr. 28 (p. 463) = fr. 186 Döring = SVF II (Chrysipp. Stoic.) fr. 271 = Chrysipp. Stoic. fr. 278–279 Dufour]. On Plutarch's criticism of the Stoics (and especially Chrysippos), see Hershbell 1992.

17 Diog. Laert. 2.113 [= SSR² I Stilpon (= II O) fr. 2 (p. 450) = fr. 163A Döring]. For *μεγαρίζω* and its meanings, see LSJ s.v. *μεγαρίζω*. See also Döring 1998: 231.

18 Sud. s.v. *Μεγαρίσαι* (M 388) [= fr. 163B Döring] (transl. by D. Whitehead): τὰ Μεγαρέως δοξάσαι. Στίλπων γὰρ ὁ φιλόσοφος Μεγαρεὺς ἦν, τῆς Ἑλλάδος: ὃς τοσοῦτον εὐρησιλογίᾳ καὶ σοφιστείᾳ προῆγε τοὺς ἄλλους, ὥς μικροῦ δεῖσαι

Despite these and other comparable sources, it remains difficult to consider the Megarians as a school in terms of the general understanding of this expression. This becomes immediately clear if one considers a common definition of the concept of a philosophical school whereby a philosophical school is “[n]ot, in general, a formal institution, but a group of like-minded philosophers with an agreed leader and a regular meeting place, sometimes on private premises but normally in public.”¹⁹ Against this background it is evident that, for all we know, the Megarians can be seen only in a very wide sense as a philosophical school, or that they must be considered a philosophical school with loose internal ties. Some key features common to the concept of philosophical schools were not shared by them: for instance, throughout their (post-Euklidean) history they neither had a head of school (only dominating figures), nor were all persons affiliated to the Megarians based at Megara. Likewise, no regular meeting place in the city is attested.²⁰ The philosophers grouped under the name of Megarians only had some topics in common, especially logic, metaphysics and, to some extent, ethics. Although there seems to have been no larger dogmatic basic framework, a specific form of questioning and reasoning was assigned to their intellectual conversations.²¹ All of these circumstances might reasonably explain the noted changes of the naming of the Megarians (Diogenes Laertius, above).²²

πάσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφορώσαν εἰς αὐτὸν μεγαρίσαι. – “[Meaning] to hold the views of a Megarian. For Stilpon the philosopher was from Megara, in Greece; [it was he] who so far excelled the rest in inventiveness and sophistry that almost the whole of Greece looked away from others to him [and chose] to Megarise.”

19 See Long and Sedley 1987: 5. In this context, see also Haake 2015: 59–62.

20 The reference to the διδασκαλεῖον of Eukleides at Megara in Pseudo-Alexander of Aphrodisias’ (probably to be identified with Michael of Ephesus, a Byzantine philosopher flourishing in the twelfth century CE; see, e.g., Luna 2001: 53–66, 187; Salis 2007: 2389–2391) *Commentary on Aristotle’s Metaphysics* ([Alex. Aphr.] in *Metaph.* 570.25–26 Hayduck [= SSR² I Eubulides (= II B) fr. 16.1–3 (p. 394) = fr. 130B] ad Arist. *Metaph.* 1046b29 [IX 3.1]) should be considered of doubtful value; see, however, Montoneri 1984: 71. On διδασκαλεῖα in general, see the short remarks by Scholz 1998: 41 n. 116.

21 It is a controversial matter whether Stilpo (SSR² I Stilpon [= II O] fr. 26 (p. 462) = fr. 27 Döring = Aristocle fr. 7.1 Chiesara *apud* Eus. PE 14.17.1) held a similar view as expressed by Eukleides in the ‘basic dogma’ (SSR² I Euclides [= II A] fr. 30 [p. 386] = fr. 24 Döring *apud* Diog. Laert. 2.106. On the ‘basic dogma’, see Döring 1987: 91–92); cf. Chiesara 2001: 155–158.

22 On these explanations see, convincingly, von Fritz 1931: 718–719; Cambiano 1977 (esp. 36); Montoneri 1984: 67–72; Döring 1989: 309–310.

Even though Megara was thus not a permanent center of Megarian philosophy, the name of place remained a characteristic of those who belonged to the Megarian school. Moreover, some of the philosophers called Megarian were also Megarian citizens or spent at least some of their time actually practicing philosophy in Megara. Next to Euclid, the founder of the school, Ichthyas, Philippos, and Stilpo were the most prominent protagonists.²³ Their presence and role in the city will be taken into account below.

Prominent Members of the School

The Platonic dialogues are often embedded in short prefatory notes. The setting of one of these prefatory dialogues, in the *Theaitetos*, is located in Megara. Whether this dramatic proem is authentic or not, is not relevant in the current context.²⁴ Briefly, the setting is the aftermath of the battle of Corinth, probably in 392 or 391 BCE (rather than in 369),²⁵ and the scene is at one of the city gates. Eukleides, who had intended to go to the harbour, has come upon the mathematician Theaitetos of Sounion,²⁶ who, wounded in the battle of Corinth, was on his way back to his native city. Upon his return to Megara, Eukleides runs into Terpsion,²⁷ who had been looking for him. This encounter results in the immediate reading aloud of a conversation between Socrates and Theaitetos (and Theodoros²⁸) in the year before Socrates' death; this conversation was recorded by none other than Eukleides after Socrates relayed the discussion to him, and by happy chance, Eukleides had this text with him when he meets Terpsion. More interesting than the reading aloud of Eukleides' text by his accompanying slave in memory of Theaitetos is that Terpsion tells Eukleides that he had been looking for him in the agora.²⁹

23 On these three philosophers, see, e.g., Muller 2000c; Muller 2012; Muller 2016b.

24 Pl. *Tht.* 142a1–143c8 [=SSR² I Euclides (= II A) fr. 9 (p. 379–380) = fr. 5 Döring]. See the short overview by Erler 2007: 232. On the introductory dialogue, see also the commentary by Seeck 2010: 15–17.

25 See Nails 2002: 276–277; Erler 2007: 232.

26 On Theaitetos, see Nails 2002: 274–278; Narcy 2016.

27 On Terpsion, see Nails 2002: 274; Muller 2016c.

28 On Theodoros of Cyrene, see Nails 2002: 281–282; Macris 2018.

29 Pl. *Tht.* 142a2–3.

Whatever the veracity of this story, it must have been plausible to the readership to find the Megarian philosopher Eukleides in the agora of his native city. Unfortunately, nothing further is known about Eukleides' public presence in Megara. Timon of Phlius in his satirical poems *Silloi*, noted that Eukleides “inspired the Megarians with a frenzied love of controversy”.³⁰ This shows that in the context of mocking philosophical satires, it was obvious to credit Eukleides with some influence over his fellow citizens.

More instructive than Eukleides' involvement in the public life of his hometown, and that of his student Euboulides of Miletus (who is mentioned in passing in an Attic comedy by an unknown author³¹), is the case of Ichthyas, son of Metallos. Ichthyas was also one of Eukleides' students. A minor player in the history of philosophy, he played an important role in the history of his hometown in the 4th century BCE. Diodorus Siculus sets the historical stage for us, stating that “in the city of the Megarians, when some persons endeavored to overturn the government and were overpowered by the *dēmos*, many were slain and not a few driven into exile.”³² It is much debated whether this passage is part of Diodorus' description of the conditions in the Peloponnese after the *koinē eirēnē* of 375 or if it relates to the aftermath of the battle of Leuktra in 371. Even though current scholarship widely accepts the earlier date,³³ the later one cannot be excluded with certainty.³⁴ A short sentence in Tertullian's *Apologeticus*, often disregarded by ancient historians, is of great interest, since it provides a particular detail of this incident of *stasis*: “Ichthyas”, relates Tertullian, “is killed while he organizes a plot against his city.”³⁵

30 Timo Phliasius fr. 28 di Marco *apud* Diog. Laert. 2.107 [= SSR² I Euclides (= II A) fr. 34 (p. 387) = fr. 8 Döring] (transl. by R.D. Hicks): ... Εὐκλείδου, Μεγαρεῦσιν ὃς ἔμβαλε λύσσαν ἐρισμοῦ. On this fragment, see di Marco 1989: 175–177.

31 On Euboulides, Muller 2000a. *PCG* VIII Adesp. com. fr. 149 Kassel and Austin *apud* Diog. Laert. 2.108 [= SSR² I Eubulides (= II B) fr. 1 (p. 389) = fr. 51A Döring].

32 Diod. 15.40.4 (transl. C.L. Sherman, modified): ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει τῶν Μεγαρέων ἐπιχειρήσαντές τινες μεταστῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ κρατηθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνηρέθησαν, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δ' ἐξέπεσον.

33 For a concise overview, see, e.g., Stylianou 1998: 330–332.

34 See, e.g., Gehrke 1985: 110, 147 with n. 6; Jehne 1994: 64 n. 100.

35 Tert. *Apol.* 46.16 [= SSR² I Ichthyas (= II H) F 3 (p. 439) = F 48 Döring]: *Ichthyas, dum civitati insidias disponit, occiditur*. In the manuscripts of the *Apologeticus*, the name of Ichthyas is corruptly transmitted (*ichthyas* and *ichthydias*). For long, this has resulted in a misleading conjecture (*et Hippas*; see, e.g., Tert. *Apol.* ed. Waltzing and Severyns; *DK* 86 [79] Hippas A 15 [II, p. 330]) and in the hypothesis that Tertullian had confused the sophist Hippas of Elis and Hippas, the son of the Athenian tyrant Peisistratos (see, e.g. Waltzing 1931: 293–294). As Emonds (1937: 186–187) has pointed out, this was not without consequences for the evaluation of Tertullian's quality as author and the *Apologeticus*' value as a source; see,

Ichthyas' plotting and the civic strife in Megara mentioned by Diodorus relate to the same instance of *stasis*.³⁶ The short remark thus provides an additional piece of information,³⁷ that is: Ichthyas not only played a vital role among the oligarchic conspirators, but he was also among those who met their death in the wake of the failed coup d'état.³⁸ Unfortunately, nothing more can be inferred from this detail, as most aspects regarding the context of the upheaval remain obscure.³⁹

e.g., Geffcken 1937: 282 with n. 1. However, Emonds (1937: esp. 180–184) has convincingly demonstrated that the text must be read 'Ichthyas' and he has also explained how the defective transmission in the manuscripts can be explained. All later essential critical editions of the text (e.g., CCSL I [Tert. *oper.* I]) accept Emonds' emendation. This emendation has also been recognized and accepted in studies in the history of philosophy of the Megarians (see, e.g. Döring 1972: 100) and in the field of patristic studies on Tertullian (see, e.g., Georges 2011: 653 with n. 57).

36 See already Emonds 1937: 185–186; see Kroll 1940; F. Jacoby in *FGrH* 3b *Noten* 230; Meyer 1970: 848. Döring (1972: 100–101), however, is rather skeptical and suggests to see Ichthyas' death in the context of civil strife in 343 (on this apparently bloodless conflict between [philo-Makedonian] oligarchs and [philo-Athenian] democrats, see Legon 1981: 290–294; Gehrke 1985: 110). Döring's main argument for his suggestion – based on Diogenes of Sinope's dubious dialogue *Ichthyas* (Diog. Laert. 2.112 [= SSR² II Diogenes (= V B) fr. 124 (p. 283) = fr. 32A Döring], 6.80 [= SSR² II Diogenes (= V B) fr. 117 (p. 280–282) = fr. 32B Döring]) and consequential chronological considerations – is worth considering, even though it is far from convincing. Further investigations are necessary, even more so, if the above quoted passage by Diodorus is dated to 372. On Diogenes' problematic catalogue of literary works, see, with different positions in respect of their authenticity, Goulet-Cazé 1986: 85–90; Winiarczyk 2005.

37 Tertullian's source for his knowledge about Ichthyas remains an open question. To think of a Hellenistic (or, less probably, early Imperial) compilation of anti-philosophical polemic might not be completely misleading. In any case, it is remarkable that Ichthyas is not mentioned in Tatian's polemic against philosophers (Tat. *adv. Graec.* 2.1–3.4) whereas Plato, Aristotle, and Aristippos, who are quoted together with Ichthyas by Tertullian (Tert. *Apol.* 46.15–16), are referred to by Tatian (Tat. *adv. Graec.* 2.1–2). The attribution of the fragment on Ichthyas to Aristotle's *Megarian Constitution*, as suggested by Emonds (1937, 190–191), should be considered as doubtful. Jacoby (*FGrH* 3b *Noten* 230) has pointed out that an unknown local Megarian historian might have been the first to record the events of the Megarian civil strife of the 370s, and that this anonymous historian was the source of Ephoros, who was used, in turn, by Diodorus; see also Piccirilli 1975: 1 n. 4. The connection between the anonymous Megarian or Ephoros respectively and the unknown source of Tertullian must remain again an unanswered question. It is remarkable, however, that Tertullian refers explicitly in his *On the Soul* to Ephoros: *BNJ* 70 Ephoros F 217 *apud* Tert. *de An.* 46. Moreover, it is not possible to allocate the 'Ichthyas-fragment' to Theophrastus' *Megarian (Dialogue)* attested in Diog. Laert. 5.44 (= Thphr. fr. 436 no. 20 Fortenbaugh – Huby – Sharples – Gutas), 6.22 (= Thphr. fr. 511 Fortenbaugh – Huby – Sharples – Gutas).

38 As far as I know, this passage has never been taken into account. See, e.g., Legon 1981 (esp. 274, 276–278); Gehrke 1985 (esp. 110); Scholz 1998; Stylianou 1998 (esp. 329–332); Robinson 2011 (esp. 46); Gray 2015; Simonton 2017.

39 It is important to underline, however, that Ichthyas' involvement in (Megarian oligarchic) politics had nothing to do with his philosophy but with his presumable social background, which induced his association with philosophy. Despite the scarce evidence, it is a plausible assumption to see in Ichthyas an offspring of the Megarian upper class. In this respect, see, e.g., the remarks by Haake 2009: 130–132, which can be applied to Megara; see also Haake 2015: 76; Nebelin 2016: 364.

The next Megarian who is visible in our sources was Stilpo of Megara (c. 360 to 280 BCE), the last and perhaps most prominent Megarian philosopher, who attracted a considerable number of students, as evidenced by his fellow citizen Philippos of Megara, also a Megarian philosopher.⁴⁰

Even though Stilpo was a person who was known to the Athenian public⁴¹ – apparently he had taught, at least temporarily, in Athens,⁴² before being accused for religious reasons⁴³ – he appears to have lived and taught mostly in his hometown of Megara.⁴⁴ Some short pieces of information handed down by Diogenes Laertius suggest that Stilpo was a public figure in Megara known for his philosophical activity. Stilpo was also engaged in politics, according to an isolated, brief sentence in the *Life of Stilpo*.⁴⁵ In the *Life of Diogenes*, Stilpo

40 Diog. Laert. 2.113 [= SSR² I Stilpon (= II O) fr. 16 (p. 458) = 164A Döring] (transl. by R.D. Hicks): περὶ τούτου φησὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Μεγαρικὸς κατὰ λέξιν οὕτω· “παρὰ μὲν γὰρ Θεοφράστου Μητροδόωρον τὸν θεωρητικὸν καὶ Τιμαγόραν τὸν Γελῶν ἀπέσπασε, παρ’ Ἀριστοτέλους δὲ τοῦ Κυρηναϊκοῦ Κλείταρχον καὶ Σιμμίαν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν διαλεκτικῶν Παιώνειον μὲν ἀπ’ Ἀριστείδου, Δίφιλον δὲ τὸν Βοσποριανὸν Εὐφάντου καὶ Μύρμηκα τὸν Ἐξαινέτου παραγενομένους ὡς ἐλέγξοντας ἀμφοτέρους ζηλωτὰς ἔσχε.” – “On this let me cite the exact words of Philippos the Megarian philosopher: “for from Theophrastus he drew away the theorist Metrodoros and Timagoras of Gela, from Aristotle the Cyrenaic philosopher, Kleitarchos, and Simmias; and as for the dialecticians themselves, he gained over Paionios from Aristides; Diphilos of Bosphorus, the son of Euphantos, and Myrmex, the son of Exainetos, who had both come to refute him, he made his devoted adherents.” See Döring 1972: 144–146.

41 Stilpo is mentioned in a fragment of Sophilos’ comedy *The Wedding*: PCG VII Sophilos fr. 3 *apud* Diog. Laert. 2.120 [= SSR² I Stilpon (= II O) fr. 3 (p. 450) = fr. 185 Döring]; see Weiher 1914: 70–71. According to Diogenes Laertius in his *Life of Stilpo*, “[i]t is said that at Athens he (*i.e.* Stilpo) so attracted the public that people would run together from the workshops to look at him.” (2.119 [= SSR² I Stilpon (= II O) fr. 11 (p. 453) = fr. 176 Döring] [transl. by R.D. Hicks]: Λέγεται δ’ οὕτως Ἀθήνησιν ἐπιστρέψαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὥστ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων συνθεῖν ἵνα αὐτὸν θεάσαιντο.).

42 This can be reasonably deduced from the fact that the founder of the Stoa, Zeno of Kition, was a student of Stilpo; see, e.g., Döring 1998: 231. In which form Stilpo’s teachings at Athens took place, is unknown.

43 In the context of this process, Stilpo should have been expelled from Athens: Diog. Laert. 2.116 [= SSR² I Stilpon (= II O) fr. 12 (p. 454) = fr. 183 Döring]. See Parker 1996: 277–278; Mikalson 1998: 129 n. 66; Haake 2016: 217–218.

44 Among those who settled at Megara because of Stilpo were the philosophers Asklepiades of Phlious (Goulet 1989; see additionally Haake 2010) and Menedemos of Eretria (Goulet 2005a): Diog. Laert. 2.126 [= SSR² I Stilpon (= II O) fr. 7 (p. 452–453) = SSR² I Menedemos (= III F) fr. 1 (p. 503) = fr. 170 Döring] (transl. by R.D. Hicks): “Asklepiades of Phlious drew him away, and he lived at Megara with Stilpo, whose lectures they both attended.” (Ἀσκληπιάδου δὲ τοῦ Φλιασίου περισπᾶσαντος αὐτὸν ἐγένετο ἐν Μεγάρῳ παρὰ Στίλπωνι.). This happened in the late 320s; see Knoepfler 1991: 171 n. 5; Döring 1998: 242. Unfortunately, it is not possible to decide whether the location of Stilpo’s teaching, which is provided in an Oxyrhynchian papyrus, and which might have Stilpo’s dialogue *Metrokles* (Diog. Laert. 2.120 [= SSR² I Stilpon (= II O) fr. 23 (p. 461)] = fr. 187 Döring) as source, should be located in Athens or Megara: *P.Oxy.* LII 3655 = *CPF* I 1 99 Stilpon 2T.

45 Diog. Laert. 2.114 [= SSR² I Stilpon (= II O) fr. 35 (p. 468) = fr. 162 Döring]; Diogenes uses the word πολιτικώτατος. The sentence on Stilpo as a political man is not related to the surrounding context. Rather, it follows

is mentioned alongside the Athenian Phokion as one of the students of Diogenes of Sinope, who became active in politics.⁴⁶ It can be reasonably assumed that Stilpo was involved in Megarian affairs (certainly with no intention to realize philosophical ideas), because of his likely membership in the Megarian elite. Such a social background for a philosopher in late Classical and early Hellenistic times would not be surprising; on the contrary, this would be expected.⁴⁷

Whatever the authenticity of further information on Stilpo's biography might be, its overall impression supports the image of the philosopher who was a member of Megara's upper class. According to a certain Onetor, as Athenaios reports in book 13 of his *Learned Banqueters*, Stilpo had, next to his wife, a *hetaira* named Nikarete,⁴⁸ who “was a quite refined courtesan and was particularly attractive because of her ancestry and her education, since she had been a student of the philosopher Stilpo.”⁴⁹ Even though we sense a certain topicality here – the prominent theme of “the philosopher and the *hetaira*” –, this does not prevent us from drawing certain conclusions from this reference.⁵⁰ Philosophy and hetairism were integral parts of the lifestyle of the male elites of Greek cities in the

Diogenes' lengthy remarks on Stilpo's pupils and is followed by his more detailed observations on his family relations. It is worth noting, however, that the opposite image of Stilpo as a man who has chosen to live in tranquility (*i.e.*, beyond politics) is present in Plutarch's *Life of Demetrios* 9.9 [= SSR² I Stilpon (= II O) fr. 15 (p. 455) = fr. 151B Döring]. On contrasting images of the lives of philosophers, see, e.g., Haake 2013a: 85–88.

46 Diog. Laert. 6.76 [= SSR² II Diogenes (= V B) fr. 138 (p. 291) = fr. 149 Döring]. On Phokion and Diogenes, see Gehrke 1976: 192–193, 197 with n. 87.

47 See, e.g., the results of Haake 2007.

48 FGrH 4A Onetor 1113 F 2 *apud* Diog. Laert. 2.114 [= SSR² I Stilpon (= II O) fr. 17 (p. 459) = fr. 155 Döring] (transl. by R.D. Hicks): Καὶ γυναῖκα ἡγάγετο· καὶ ἑταῖρα συνῆν Νικαρέτῃ, ὥς φησί που καὶ Ὀνήτωρ. – “He married a wife, and had a mistress named Nikarete, as Onetor has somewhere stated.” On Nikarete, see Kroll 1936; Goulet 2005b. On Onetor, Goulet 2005c.

49 Athen. 13.596e [= SSR² I Stilpon (= II O) fr. 17 (p. 458–459) = fr. 156 Döring] (transl. by S.D. Olsen): Νικαρέτῃ δὲ ἡ Μεγαρίς οὐκ ἀγεννὴς ἦν ἑταῖρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ γονέων <ἐνεκα> καὶ κατὰ παιδείαν ἐπέραστος ἦν, ἡκροᾶτο δὲ Στίλπωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου. – “Nikarete of Megara was a quite refined courtesan and was particularly attractive because of her ancestry and her education, since she had been a student of the philosopher Stilpo.” – The Cynic Krates probably mocked Stilpo's relationship with Nikarete in an undertone of sexual ribaldry: SSR² II Crates (= V H) fr. 67 (p. 549) *apud* Diog. Laert. 2.118 [= fr. 180 Döring]. On *hetairai* in Athenaios' work, see McClure 2003: 27–58.

50 A further anecdote regarding Stilpo and a *hetaira*, Glykera, can be traced back to Satyros: Satyr. fr. 19 Schorn *apud* Athen. 13.584a [= SSR² I Stilpon (= II O) fr. 18 (p. 459) = fr. 157 Döring].

Classical and Hellenistic periods.⁵¹ It is, therefore, not inconceivable that Stilpo, who was married and had a daughter, took a *hetaira* who descended from a noble Megarian family.⁵²

No examination of Stilpo as a public figure and a politically relevant person can leave aside what may be considered the most popular anecdote about any Megarian philosopher in antiquity.⁵³ According to Diogenes Laertius, Ptolemy I and Demetrios Poliorketes held Stilpo in high esteem:

“Ptolemy Soter, they say, made much of him, and when he had got possession of Megara, offered him a sum of money and invited him to return with him to Egypt. But Stilpo would only accept a very moderate sum, and he declined the proposed journey, and removed to Aegina until Ptolemy set sail. Again, when Demetrios, the son of Antigonos, had taken Megara, he took measures that Stilpo’s house should be preserved and all his plundered property restored to him. But when he requested that a schedule of the lost property should be drawn up, Stilpo denied that he had lost anything which really belonged to him, for no one had taken away his learning, while he still had his eloquence and knowledge. And conversing upon the duty of doing good to men he made such an impression on the king that he became eager to hear him.”⁵⁴

It cannot be denied that Diogenes’ remarks regarding the interest of Ptolemy and Demetrios in Stilpo are topical insofar as they belong to the huge amount of comparable

51 Cf. Kurke 1997; Davidson 1997: 109–136; Hartmann 2002: 133–211.

52 Stilpo’s daughter, who was married to Simmias of Syracuse (Muller 2016a), a friend of her father, is attested by Diogenes Laertius: Diog. Laert. 2.114 [= SSR² I Stilpon (= II O) fr. 17 (p. 459) = fr. 153 Döring].

53 For a collection of the respective sources: SSR² I Stilpon (= II O) fr. 15 (p. 455–458) = fr. 151A–I Döring.

54 Diog. Laert. 2.115–116 [= SSR² I Stilpon (= II O) F 14–15 (p. 454–455) = F 150–151A Döring] (transl. by R.D. Hicks): Ἀπεδέχετο δ’ αὐτόν, φασί, καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Σωτήρ. καὶ ἐγκρατὴς Μεγάρων γενόμενος ἐδίδου τε ἀργύριον αὐτῷ καὶ παρεκάλει εἰς Αἴγυπτον συμπλεῖν· ὁ δὲ μέτριον μὲν τι τὰργυριδίου προσήκατο, ἀρνησάμενος δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν μετήλθεν εἰς Αἴγιναν, ἕως ἐκεῖνος ἀπέπλευσεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Ἀντιγόνου καταλαβὼν τὰ Μέγαρα τὴν τε οἰκίαν αὐτῷ φυλαχθῆναι καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀρπασθέντα προύνοησεν ἀποδοθῆναι. ὅτε καὶ βουλομένῳ παρ’ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀναγραφὴν λαβεῖν ἔφη μηδὲν τῶν οἰκείων ἀπολωλεκέναι· παιδείαν γὰρ μηδὲν ἐξενηνοχέναι, τὸν τε λόγον ἔχειν καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην. [116] Καὶ αὐτῷ διαλεχθεὶς περὶ ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίας οὕτως εἶλεν ὥστε προσέχειν αὐτῷ. – Sonnabend 1996: 294 is anything but helpful on this. That Megara was plundered after Demetrios had conquered the city is attested by Plutarch: Plut. *Demetr.* 9.8.

statements regarding Hellenistic monarchs wishing to demonstrate good relations with philosophers.⁵⁵ The anecdote on Demetrios' offering and Stilpo's refusal should be read as one of the neat stories illustrating the failed attempt of a king to attract a philosopher as well as the topical antagonism between "the wise" and "the powerful".⁵⁶ Yet, all this does not necessarily mean that both rulers did not attempt to be on good terms with Stilpo – especially for political reasons. It is quite plausible to take such a royal effort as the historical nucleus of the whole story.

Although not much is known about the political situation in Megara at the end of the fourth century BCE, it is nevertheless possible to give an impression of the historical situation and to contextualize Ptolemy's and Demetrios' attempts to attract Stilpo. We hear that there was a change in the constitution, which has to be considered as part of the fierce power play in the Greek world in the early Hellenistic period. According to Diodorus and Plutarch, Demetrios abolished the oligarchy and restored democracy after he had conquered the city in 307 BCE – all of which probably occurred in a situation of internal conflict in Megara.⁵⁷ It is conceivable that Stilpo, as a member of the civic elite and possibly as a prominent figure, might have been a person who was considered a potential partisan of both Ptolemy and Demetrios, instrumental in their attempts to gain control of Megara.

Between the early fourth and the late third century, then, several members of the Megarian school appear to have been present in the city. Due to the fragmentary nature of our sources, however, it is difficult to see the details of this developing story. We are left with a more general impression. The magnitude of this philosophical imprint on the local discourse world of Megara is impossible to assert.

In a similar vein, it is difficult to infer insights from other Greek cities with respect to a public discourse on Megarian philosophers and philosophy in Megara. Since the early

⁵⁵ In this respect, see Haake 2013b: 181–184.

⁵⁶ On this antagonism in general, see Dorandi 2005a and Haake 2013b: 182.

⁵⁷ Diod. 20.46.3; Plut. *Demetr.* 9.8; cf. Gehrke 1985: 110. See also the contribution by Klaus Freitag on Demetrios' engagement in Aigosthena.

Hellenistic period, epigraphic evidence has been of great importance in this respect.⁵⁸ Unfortunately, no relevant inscriptions are currently known from Megara.⁵⁹ Another possible source to shed light on the public opinion and discourse on philosophers and philosophy has also been entirely lost: Megarian comedies.⁶⁰ It is no other than Aristotle, who, among other comic traditions, also mentions the existence of a local Megarian comedy tradition in his *Poetics*.⁶¹ Whatever the peculiarities of this Megarian comedy might have been,⁶² we might reasonably assume that philosophers, as public figures, were presented in the corresponding plays.⁶³

The *Megarikoi* – from School to an Icon of Local Pride

For nearly two hundred years, Megarian philosophers were part of the history of Megara. Yet even though they were involved in the public and political life of the city at times, it is difficult to measure their imprint on the local cosmos. Likewise, it is more or less impossible to pinpoint a Megarian impact on the thinking of the Megarian philosophers, especially because of the outlined characteristics of the Megarian school. We must content ourselves with the rather general assessment that Megarian philosophers were recognized by their compatriots in a certain, locally distinct fashion. Moreover, it is likely that such fashion in the perception of philosophers was never static nor homogenous, but malleable over time and depended on who the philosopher was. It is equally reasonable to assume that next to *the* local Megarian public discourse on Megarian philosophers were various discourses resting upon the social background of the respective speakers.⁶⁴ It is plausible to postulate that Megarian philosophers would be, at any rate, responsive to local incidences

58 See Haake 2007. For one of the earliest pieces of epigraphic evidence for a philosopher, a Delphic honorary decree for Menedemos of Pyrrha (Bousquet 1940–1941: 94–96), a student of Plato (Dorandi 2005), see Knoepfler 2010.

59 On the Megarian decree culture, Liddel 2009.

60 In this context, Haake 2007: 6 n. 33, 9–10, 279.

61 Arist. *Poet.* 1448a29–35 (esp. 31–32). On this passage, see Heath 1989: 348; Guastini 2010: 131–134.

62 On Megarian comedy, Breitholz 1960: esp. 34–71; Kerkhof 2001: 17–24; Storey 2010: 181; Zimmermann 2011: 664; see also Braund and Hall 2014: 378–379.

63 The philosopher and philosophical themes were not only topics in Attic comedy, as the example of Epicharmos of Syracuse illustrates; see, e.g., Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén 2012: 87–95; Willi 2012: 58–63.

64 In this context, see the general remarks in Haake 2007: 5–6.

– if not in their philosophical thinking, then at least in their acting as social beings and ‘political animals’.

In his *Attic Nights*, Aulus Gellius reports a story that his teacher, the Platonic philosopher Taurus,⁶⁵ told his students, for uplifting reasons, that

“[t]he Athenians had provided in one of their decrees that any citizen of Megara who should be found to have set foot in Athens should for that suffer death; so great was the hatred of the neighboring men of Megara with which the Athenians were inflamed. Eukleides, who was from that very town of Megara and before the passage of that decree had been accustomed both to come to Athens and to listen to Socrates, after the enactment of that measure, at nightfall, as darkness was coming on, clad in a woman’s long tunic, wrapped in a partly-colored mantle, and with veiled head, used to walk from his home in Megara to Athens, to visit Socrates, in order that he might at least for some part of the night share in the master’s teaching and discourse. And just before dawn he went back again, a distance of somewhat over twenty miles, disguised in that same garb.”⁶⁶

At first glance, many readers might see in this narrative, staged on the eve of the Peloponnesian War, nothing more than a story propagated in the philosophical circles of Athens at the time of the Second Sophistic.⁶⁷ Yet such a view does no justice to the tale

65 On (L. Calvenus) Taurus, see Lakmann 2017: 238–248.

66 Gell. 7.10.2–4 [= Tauros T 7 Lakmann] (transl. by J.C. Rolfe): [2] “Decreto,” inquit, “suo Athenienses caverant, ut qui Megaris civis esset, si intulisse Athenas pedem pressus esset, ut ea res ei homini capitalis esset; [3] tanto Athenienses,” inquit, “odio flagrabant finitimorum hominum Megarensium. [4] Tum Euclidis, qui indidem Megaris erat quique ante id decretum et esse Athenis et audire Socratem consueverat, postquam id decretum sanxerunt, sub noctem, cum advesperasceret, tunica longa muliebri indutus et pallio versicolore amictus et caput rica velatus, e domo sua Megaris Athenas ad Socratem commeabat, ut vel noctis aliquo tempore consiliorum sermonumque eius fieret particeps, rursusque sub lucem milia passuum paulo amplius viginti eadem veste illa tectus redibat.” On this passage, its narrative frame and the moral of this story, Lakmann 1995: 58–68 (esp. 61–65).

67 Even though the story might be of limited historical value, it is somewhat surprising that it is almost completely ignored in scholarship on the relations between Megara and Athens on the eve of the Peloponnesian War, the so-called Megarian decree(s) in particular. A rare exception is Zahrnt 2010; see also de Ste. Croix 1972: 246. The general ignorance must be all the more surprising since Gellius’ wording of the decree (7.10.2: ... *ut qui Megaris civis esset, si intulisse Athenas pedem pressus esset, ut ea res ei homini capitalis esset* ...) is an obvious reminder of the respective phrase in

and its diffusion. It is possible that it must remain an open question of when, where, and by whom this story was invented, but it was only depicted in Megara itself, found on the obverse of a local coin from the second century CE, most likely from the reign of Hadrian.⁶⁸ The reverse shows the famous statue of Artemis Soteira by the Classical sculptor Strongylion,⁶⁹ while the obverse depicts a male head looking to the right, bearded and veiled, wearing an earring. Since the magisterial publication of Giovanni Angelo Canini's *Iconografia, cioè disegni d'imagini de famosissimi monarchi, regi, filosofi, poeti ed oratori dell'antichità* (1669), the portrait has been identified with the Megarian philosopher Eukleides.⁷⁰

the so-called decree of Charinos as handed down by Plutarch in his *Life of Pericles* (Plut. *Per.* 30.3: ... ὃς δ' ἂν ἐπιβῇ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Μεγαρέων, θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι, ...). It is not possible to consider this aspect in the current context. It should be noted, however, that the passage of Gellius (who might have known Plutarch's text; see Lakmann 1995: 228) on the Athenian decree relating to the Megarians is placed in the context of the complex debate on the Charinos decree; see, e.g., Connor 1962; Cawkell 1969; Fornara 1975; Sealey 1991; Stadter 1984; McDonald 1994. For a very short orientation, see Samons 2016: 270 n. 50.

68 The *Quellenfrage* regarding the decree of Charinos, and its use by Plutarch and its presence in the anecdote about Eukleides has not been definitively answered. Stadter, for example, sees a "documentary source" (1989: 279) behind Plutarch's text, which might have been available through Krateros (cf. Stadter 1984: 353; Erdas 2002: 304. See also Meinhardt 1957: 58, who believes Plutarch had access to the full document). For Gigon, the origins of the story about Eukleides should be placed in the context of early Socratic literature (1947: 283). Lakmann has offered three different possibilities: an unknown, lost literary source; an orally transmitted tradition; or an invention by Taurus himself (1995: 64-65). Be that as it may, it is important to bear in mind that, at some point, Eukleides' story became part of Megara's local memoryscape.

69 On the cult image of Artemis Soteira, which is attested by Pausanias (1.40.2-3), see *LIMC* II 1: 655 no. 419, 657 no. 448-449. On Strongylion, see *DNO* II: 415-427, esp. 415-417 no. 1.

70 *BMC Attica* 121 no. 43 with pl. XXI,14 = *RPC* III i, no. 408 with *RPC* III ii: pl. 19,408. See Canini 1669: 119 with pl. 89; Richter 1965: 120 with fig. 576; Schefold 1997: 416 with fig. 298; Hellmann 2000.



BMC Attica 121 no. 43 = *RPC* III, no. 408 (obverse) [© The Trustees of the British Museum]

At a time when the Megarian school had long disappeared from the philosophical scene, for some four hundred years or so, Eukleides' native city took pride in its well-known son, the first of the Megarian philosophers, and minted a series of coins with his portrait that visualized the tradition of Eukleides' guile and perils he had once endured in his efforts to attend Socrates' philosophical lessons in Athens. As with many other Greek communities under Roman rule, Megara too expressed its local identity by referring to an intellectual hero of the past,⁷¹ with coins showing the founder of a philosophical school named after his own birthplace: Megara.

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⁷¹ See, e.g., Schefold 1997: 68–70, 400–423.

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Chapter 12

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Between Localism and Diaspora: The Sicilian Perspective on Megara's World

My 'Megarian moment' began exactly twenty-five years ago at McGill University, with a master's thesis on Boioita, which opened the door to my interest in this region of central Greece and its Archaic migrations.¹ So much has changed in the last quarter-century in regard to our approaches to ancient history that this paper affords me the opportunity to revisit old topics and to include newer ones that have emerged in the meantime. I divide my paper into two parts. The first part is devoted to some historiographical remarks regarding approaches, mainly modern but ancient too, and picks up on some developments from this twenty-five-year-long window that I believe require highlighting. The second part brings to bear my work on the Megarians of Sicily and how this perspective permits me to address the nexus between localism and diaspora in the Megarian world.

¹ De Angelis 1991.

Part I. Approaches: Ancient and Modern

Two new modern approaches in particular stand out to me over the past twenty-five years: the questioning of the “colonial” model derived from modern historical parallels in framing discussions of Archaic Greek migrations, and the rise of Mediterranean microregionalism with its underlying themes of mobility, connectivity, and decentring.

When I completed my master’s thesis in 1991, hardly any scholars were questioning the modern colonial paralleling of the so-called Greek “colonization” of the Archaic period. But that changed before the 1990s were over, in, for instance, my work and that of my former thesis supervisor Robin Osborne, with a more discerning, if not iconoclastic view in Osborne’s case, taken to the problematic modern labels of “colonies” and “colonization” in speaking about the ancient Megarians and other Archaic Greek migrants.² Osborne’s view, while salutary for shaking up the ground, would not go so far as to deny Adrian Robu’s recent application of network thinking to the Megarians at home and abroad.³

At the same time, however, I would argue that we seem still to be framing Megarian history in subtle, probably unknowing ways ultimately informed by modern colonialism. The problem runs deep in Megarian studies, with, of course, the foundational 1934 work of Krister Hanell, *Megarische Studien*. As Robu observes, Hanell was writing at the time when modern colonial parallels were being used to understand the image of Miletus and Megara, as part of which one spoke as well of blockades by Thracians. Hanell, like others before and after him, also never seriously entertained the possibility of local, non-Greek populations and conditions having played a role at all in the historical development of the Megarian and other Greek communities established on their shores. All the same, Hanell 2.0, with its postcolonial and other tinkering, is still regarded as a research model by Robu and others who work in this scholarly tradition.⁴

The quest for finding commonality is only one side of the story, one that modern colonialism with its traditional metropolitan focus has ultimately caused us to follow. Hanell’s study was also conceived at a time when a larger German-inspired tradition

² De Angelis 1998; Osborne 1998. Osborne (2016) has recently revisited his paper, remaining firm on the basic thesis.

³ Robu 2014: 3–5, 208.

⁴ Robu 2014: 8, 259.

focusing on the civic institutions of so-called “colony” and mother city was in vogue.⁵ The result has too often been pictures that are too cohesive, in which relationships are too quickly viewed as the norm. Thus, this nexus between colony and mother city is deeply engrained across a wide spectrum of scholarship. Built into the structure of this academic approach is an overwhelming focus on finding commonalities and similarities between Point A and B, or, put another way, the reproduction of the metropolis away from home, whereas differences were played down or suppressed as colonialism itself was wont to do. Osborne has recently reminded us of the misleading consequences of such a colonialist framework, with specific reference to Megara:

What study of migration – and indeed of diaspora – shows us, is the amount of cultural baggage carried by migrants. Chinatowns all over the world are not the result of colonisation but of migration. When Hanell in *Megarische Studien* 75 years ago showed that Megara’s ‘colonies’ shared a calendar, he was surely right to conclude that the calendar that they shared had much in common with the (otherwise unknown) calendar of Megara itself. But he was in my view wrong to think that that meant that these communities had been set up by Megarian design on Megarian lines. Life as the Greeks knew it required account to be taken of the passage of time, and few communities can have worked directly from the stars, in Hesiodic fashion. The calendar with which people had been brought up was the default calendar of their adult life, whether they stayed where they was [*sic*] born or migrated elsewhere. The calendar of the person who led the settlers, or of the religious expert among the settlers, would naturally impose itself, and future migrants might well prefer to join a city whose calendar (and other similar institutions) were familiar rather than one where cults and months bore strange names. Sharing a calendar and sharing a cult were part of sharing a history; but they did not require any on-going political bond.⁶

⁵ Bernstein, forthcoming.

⁶ Osborne 2016: 25.

Let me illustrate this with an example from Megarian history. When we ask “what could the metropolis have exported to the colonies?,”⁷ the answer can also include replies like “not necessarily anything at all,” or at least “not necessarily anything on any kind of regular basis.” My response derives by looking from the so-called “colonial” periphery back to the supposed center and does not assume the regular traffic between Point A and Point B that the colonial framework ultimately posits. That is in part because we know quite a lot about the merchants who frequented Sicily’s shores. Exchange between Sicily and Greece in Archaic and Classical times seems to have been predominately in the hands of non-Megarian merchants, most notably Corinthians, Samians, and Phokaiaians.⁸ Exchange and distribution also allow us to see from another, less negative perspective the apparently enduring hostile relationship between Megara and Corinth at home.⁹ When I myself posited that Megara Hyblaia in Sicily may have been established, on the basis of several large underground silos, for the purpose of exploiting ideal grain lands, I observed that this did not entail any kind of colonial relationship with direct export to the homeland, but rather the establishment of this settlement in Sicily belonged to the actions of enterprising elites *tout court*.¹⁰ Their grain exports seem to have been taken off their hands on Sicily’s shores and transported to wherever these merchants found the greatest demand and best price. The grain may or may not have necessarily ended up in the mouths of consumers in Megara at home. If we agree with Robu that the foundation of Megara Hyblaia may have come about by disgruntled elites hostile and hospitable in equal measure to Megara of their homeland,¹¹ then a direct, one-to-one exchange correlation also becomes even less likely.

We often note the absences of evidence in such comparative exercises, but we question not whether such comparative evidence, beyond the well-known vagaries of the sources, actually existed in the first place to the degree that is presumed by colonial paralleling.

7 As our colleague Phil Smith (2006) has.

8 De Angelis 2016: 258–259, 312–313.

9 Nevertheless, the hostility could still be carried overseas, as with the foundation of Megara Hyblaia on the doorstep of Syracuse, a Corinthian establishment. See below for further discussion.

10 De Angelis 2002: 303–304. Compare how Robu (2014: 146–147) revealingly glosses this conclusion, to fit his colony-metropolis framework.

11 Robu 2014: 54.

“Diaspora” is a term that has been more used in recent years, for good reason, as an alternative framework. It allows for enduring links between homeland and outer world that can accommodate comparative exercises like Hanell 2.0, but at the same time it also allows for a multipolar, not unidirectional, world in which the homeland need not be the dominant pole and shaping force.¹² It is interesting to observe in this connection how my original title for my workshop paper “Between Localism and Diaspora in the Megarian World: A Sicilian Perspective” was translated onto the program as “Between Localism and Diaspora: The Sicilian Perspective on Megara’s World.”

I am not the first person to wonder about the supposed historical and cultural unity of Megara and its so-called colonies. Claudia Antonetti (1997) questioned this close relationship by concentrating on mythology and religion across the Megarian world, drawing attention to local variants and absences, such as the cult of Herakles, which is entirely unknown in the homeland. Antonetti was certainly moving in the right direction, but the argument of local and regional cultural variations and absences can be developed further thanks to the paradigm-shifting book *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell (2000). At the base of their work are micro-historical and environmental approaches, which have challenged perhaps the biggest of the traditional Grand Narratives of ancient Mediterranean history, the Mediterranean itself as an ecological entity. While the term Mediterranean is usually associated with a set of distinctive environmental, cultural, and historical images that create a unified body, this Mediterranean unity has been labelled “Mediterraneanism” (connected with Orientalism, another better known polarizing discourse) and regarded as a politically motivated archaism that helps to create facts and values, rather than merely recording them. Mediterranean unity, therefore, is constructed and more apparent than real. Horden and Purcell have also challenged Mediterranean unity, but they do not discard altogether the notion of Mediterranean unity. They make the crucial distinction between history “in” the Mediterranean and history “of” the Mediterranean; the latter is their focus. For them the history of the ancient and medieval Mediterranean must be viewed in terms of its microecologies and the ease of communication offered by the Mediterranean Sea. Mobility, connectivity, and decentering are the dominant themes of this historical

¹² Cohen 2008: 17–18; Kenny 2013: 1–15.

paradigm. These factors created unity through diversity and continuity through time. Their paradigm has reinvigorated large-scale and global perspectives on the ancient past, and how the larger whole was founded on microregions and the interactions amongst them.

This microregional approach, which, to the best of my knowledge, has never been systematically applied to the study of ancient Megarian history,¹³ will do much to give us insights which, because of such things as the universalizing poetry of Theognis, tends to cause us to think in terms first of similarities and then later, if at all, of differences. In addition, Theognis and the epigraphic approaches to Megarian institutions condition us into viewing Megarian history from perspectives that are largely tinted into favour of civic governance and sociopolitical tensions. While civic governance and sociopolitics are related to the economy and culture, and will not be overlooked altogether, a focus on especially economy and culture more strictly speaking has never been adopted. In doing so, we are better equipped to address the relationship between localism and diaspora in the Megarian world.

As I close this first part of my paper, let me make it very clear that I am not denying that no similarities could exist between Megara and the overseas settlements some of its inhabitants created or helped to create or that no Megarian network existed. However, we must be careful of the unwitting emphases we have often placed on ethnic cohesion and unity. Where I part ways is in thinking that the Megarians were relegated to only one network. Multiple networks with other than Megarians can be demonstrated. As the editors of this volume rightly observed in the program of the original workshop, Megara is often overlooked in favour of other nearby neighbouring states like Corinth, Athens, and Thebes. When we bring in the Sicilian perspective to Megarian history in the second part of my paper, we start to obtain perspectives which both challenge and help us understand why this secondary nature in modern minds may have come about, and how we might change that in future.

¹³ It is notably absent in the most recent big book by Robu (2014), although he does on occasion speak of regionalism (410–411).

Part II. Sicilian Perspectives on Megara's World

In speaking about the Sicilian perspective on Megara's world, we are speaking of the island's two city-states, Megara Hyblaia and Selinous. While it is often remarked that these two cities are the best documented cities in the entire Megarian world,¹⁴ little more is made of their data-sets, especially the archaeological ones, which can provide another valuable comparative perspective to reveal Megarian localism. These Sicilian data and the theoretical considerations that they raise can also be deployed to find what appears to be Sicilian localism elsewhere in the larger Megarian world and to suggest some possible answers, or at the very least some food for thought, for the many gaps that exist in our understanding of Megarian activities in the Propontis and Black Sea.¹⁵

Localism is always grounded in a particular place and space, and it is here that I would like to begin. Similarities and differences can be noted between Megara in the homeland and the Megarian cities of Sicily. Megara Hyblaia, like Megara, also had aggressive neighbours who curbed its territorial expansion. As I have discussed elsewhere in detail, this occurred in a kind of pincer movement through the efforts of Syracuse and Leontinoi, cities that later tradition maintained were founded by Corinth and Euboea.¹⁶ Tensions from the homeland were carried over onto the frontier, and the result was that the two Megaras were comparable in overall territory size – 470 square kilometers in Greece and 400 square kilometers in Sicily at their greatest extent.¹⁷ But territory size alone is only part of the picture. When we turn to overall agricultural resources within these territories, based on estimates derived from modern climate statistics and traditional land use from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which are the best we have to go on, Megara Hyblaia comes out with having about four times more arable land and double the annual rainfall than its homeland counterpart. Rainfall levels suggest that the degree of inter-annual variability was not enormous. The yearly average could have supplied more than enough water for a good crop. Megara Hyblaia was a microregion much more conducive to grain production than its homeland could ever have been, possibly even surplus production.¹⁸

14 Robu 2014: 13 n. 28.

15 See especially the numerous question marks encountered in Robu 2014.

16 De Angelis 2003: 72-79.

17 De Angelis 2003: 300.

18 De Angelis 2002.

Megara Hyblaia's local configuration was a response to the global demand for a staple crop required to support a rapidly growing population in Greece and elsewhere in the ancient world.

Turning further west in Sicily to Selinous, the other Megarian city, we encounter a localism that is related to Megara Hyblaia's but of a completely different order from this city and other Megarian ones across the entire Mediterranean. The territory of Selinous appears to have measured up to 1,500 square kilometers in size: an area something to the order of 60 kilometers in width by 25 kilometers in depth, or up to 6 percent of Sicily's total land surface of 25,708 square kilometers. The written and archaeological sources suggest that the territory took on this basic shape by the end of the sixth century, to within 150 years at most from the city's foundation.¹⁹ Land use data for this territory from the last century suggest that landforms were such as to render between 70 and 96 percent arable land. The amount of rain that falls per annum varied in a territory of this size: it averages under 500 mm. on the coast, and between 500 and 750 mm. inland. Again, rainfall levels suggest that the degree of inter-annual variability was not enormous; the yearly average could have supplied more than enough water for a good crop. It is no surprise that Selinous became known from the fifth century BCE, to when our earliest evidence dates, for a strain of wheat.²⁰ Again, Selinous's local configuration was a response to the global demand for a staple crop required to support a rapidly growing population in Greece and elsewhere in the ancient world.

While the territories of Megara Hyblaia and Selinous were better endowed agriculturally both qualitatively and quantitatively than homeland Megara, all three cities can be classified as agrarian cities on the basis of their physical and demographic size, as well as political history. The sixth-century city walls of Megara Hyblaia and Selinous enclose, respectively, 61 and 110 hectares, and Megara's fourth-century city walls (if that dating is correct) enclose 140 hectares.²¹ The population of these three cities have been estimated in round terms at, respectively, 10,000, 20,000, and 40,000 people.²² Describing a city as

19 De Angelis 2003: 173–180.

20 De Angelis 2003: 186; 2016: 288.

21 Legon 2004: 464; De Angelis 2016: 96 Table 1. The Archaic size of Megara was probably smaller.

22 Legon 2004: 463; De Angelis 2016: 143 Table 5.

agrarian does not by any means preclude a role for trade and exchange – a false dichotomy in any case²³ – but simply a statement of the nature of urbanism and society in the context of city-state culture, including the absence of imperialistic ambitions. The elite leadership of all three cities is also presupposed by the existence of “founder” burials *intra muros*.²⁴ Ports of some kind for ships are only to be expected for maritime cultures like that of the Megarians, representing another common denominator in the spatial organization of the Megarians both at home and abroad.²⁵ The broad similarities between Megarian and other Greek city-states cannot be doubted and ought to be explained in similar terms, namely the mosaic created out of the tesserae of Mediterranean microregionalism, with its engine driven by the presence/absence of resources, the relative ease of communication by sea, and the connectivity that they engendered. The dynamics that condition demographic and urban growth and development transcended any one ethnic or cultural group, however defined. In all three cases, the placement and size of these Megarian cities owe something to the local and the global at one and the same time.

However, when we compare the outward appearance of these three Megarian cities, insofar as we can, Selinous in southwest Sicily looks drastically different. What makes Selinous stand out is its monumentality, particularly the seven peripteral temples that were constructed in a period of at most ninety years (550–460 BCE).²⁶ Altogether Selinous’ seven peripteral temples embody just over 50,000 cubic meters (or 113,000 tons) of extracted, moved, and finished stone, which cost between at least 1,200 and 1,600 talents. All these seven temples imply a minimum of 7.3 million man-hours invested in them, a figure which excludes roofing and other things (like cult statues) about which we are very poorly informed.

The wealth earned from Selinous’ economy expressed itself in the need for identity on literally one of the edges of the ancient Greek world, which mattered very much here and which lie at the heart of the dynamic, if not turbulent, sociopolitical history of the city.²⁷ It

23 See recently Robu 2014: 111, 237; cf. also De Angelis 2002.

24 De Angelis 2003: 140; 2016: 150–151.

25 See Klaus Freitag’s contribution in this collection.

26 De Angelis 2003: 163–169.

27 De Angelis 2003: 154.

is no surprise that Selinous' monumental temples all faced onto the eastern facade of the city, precisely the most common direction in which Greeks would have approached the city by land and, more likely, by sea. The cult sites on the western side of the city were distinctly non-monumental and devoted to divinities like Demeter and Herakles known for their cross-boundary nature and the possibility they raised for the integration of other social groups from inside and outside Selinous. In this regard, localism mattered more at Selinous than, say, at Megara or Megara Hyblaia, given that local life existed at a nodal point, in which multiple cultures, including other Greeks, interacted. The economic success of Selinous was based on multiple exchange relationships, both Greek and non-Greek, which are now becoming well documented (more on which in a moment). Of these, homeland Megara was at best but one outlet and perhaps not even the most significant one. Selinous' monumentality, while belonging to a larger pattern of monument building in the ancient world at this time, is a local response to this wider world and can be appropriately described as glocalism, or the local and the global combined. Byzantion was no doubt another such city in the Megarian diaspora (to which I will also return in a moment).

When we talk about how Megara and its world are little mentioned in our modern historical narratives of ancient Greece, we should be trumpeting the outstanding success of Selinous.²⁸ This is a fact that should be well established on its own, but it is one amply reinforced by taking a comparative perspective of the ancient Greek city-state, today facilitated by, but not restricted to, the work of The Copenhagen Polis Centre.

One of the ways in which Selinous could carve out such a large territory in southwest Sicily is because it appears to have been sparsely settled, by at best small villages, located mostly away from the coast. Localism is always in the eye of the beholder, both ancient and modern. What may seem local can turn out in fact to be global in nature. Underpopulation and inland settlement patterns, things which I have recently emphasized for Early Iron Sicily,²⁹ were more widespread across the Mediterranean at this time. Thucydides thought as much in his "Archaeology" in Book I, Chapter 7, when speaking

28 The site is now part of an official attempt to acquire UNESCO World Heritage status. For full details, see www.facebook.com/Club-Unesco-Castelvetrano-Selinunte-147414833558/. Accessed on October 15, 2016.

29 De Angelis 2010; 2016: 44-45.

about the development of Greece following the Trojan War. Interregional exchange helped to draw people, Greeks and non-Greeks alike, back to the coast, with piracy and other disincentives gradually eliminated, as the larger prize of gain and wealth took the spotlight. Coastlines everywhere became zones of encounters between interiors and outside worlds; intercultural mixing ensued thanks to the emergence of these greater economic opportunities.

Uninhabited or sparsely inhabited sites, like Megara Hyblaia and Selinous in Sicily, may have also been met by Megarian settlers at Byzantion in Thrace.³⁰ A mixed population made up of Greeks of other than Megarian origins and non-Greeks is certainly attested in this later city, just as it is at Megara Hyblaia and Selinous. The uninhabited or sparsely inhabited nature of early Byzantion might be established in another way, by considering its territory size. While it is true to say that the rarity of information precludes any in-depth discussion of the territory sizes of the Megarian cities in the Propontis in the Archaic and Classical periods,³¹ this is a problem encountered in determining the territory sizes of most ancient Greek cities. The absence of relevant literary and epigraphic evidence for Megarian Sicily teaches us that waiting for a smoking gun to be found in the form of, say, a boundary inscription that gives clues about a city's territory, while possible, is just as likely to remain unfulfilled. A territory can only fall within a particular theoretical range at the end of the day; arguing with that basic point is only to dig in deeper one's hyper-empirical heels in a way that cannot take some questions beyond the scholarly impasse in which they find themselves. This is all to say that educated guesses of the sizes of the territories of Byzantion, Chalkedon, and Herakleia Pontike already exist, derived from the kind of approach I have employed for Megarian Sicily, in the inventory of the Copenhagen Polis Centre. Each of these Megarian cities had a territory estimated to have been category 5, or a minimum of 500 square kilometers.³² These clues suggest that Byzantion may have had a basic spatial and cultural configuration similar to that of Megara Hyblaia and Selinous in Sicily, even in terms of local toponymic inspiration. Elite burial *intra muros* at Herakleia Pontike, known only from literary evidence, is also something else

30 Robu 2014: 285.

31 Robu 2014: 285.

32 Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 915, 955, 979. The entry for Astakos (977) has a question mark for its territory size (for the categories, see p. 70).

that has been tangibly identified, via archaeological evidence, at Megara Hyblaia and Selinous, as discussed earlier.³³ It is very likely that what made for a successful Megarian city-state was shared along the Megarian network.³⁴

Weights, measures, coinage, and the usage of metals in general are other areas for which the Megarians in Sicily provide further evidence of localism. While Megara Hyblaia never minted its own coins or used those of others, it certainly was not exempt from possible local influences in these areas. In a mid-sixth century inscription, the fines that the priest could levy for sacrificing in contravention of the law are measured in *litrai*, the native Sicilian system of weights and measures.³⁵ The first Archaic Megarian city ever to mint coins was Selinous.³⁶ Minting began around 540 BCE.³⁷ At first, the metrological system adopted was the Corinthian type, with the stater (at between 9.1 and 9.4 grams) heavier than the Corinthian standard and the head of Athena substituted with a leaf of Selinous' wild parsley. This basic decoration remained in Selinous' second series of coins, but the Corinthian orientation of the earlier coins was replaced with the Euboeic-Attic metrological system, with didrachms of about 8 grams. This system remained in place until Selinous' destruction in 409 BCE. These coinages can also be best described as 'glocal'.

What we know about the trade in metals at Selinous, Megara Hyblaia, and other Sicilian Greek cities continues to grow thanks to a series of meticulous studies.³⁸ Some lingots of silver from Selinous have been found in hoards inside and outside the city's territory. Scientific analyses have pointed to Spain as one of the sources of this silver, probably obtained via Carthaginian and more generally Phoenician channels. Selinous' earliest

33 See Robu 2014: 297; Daniel Tober in this collection.

34 For related discussion, see recently Porciani 2015.

35 Macaluso 2008: 67; De Angelis 2016: 264.

36 Cutroni Tusa 2010: 159.

37 De Angelis 2003: 185–186; De Angelis 2016: 252. As with other Greek cities, coinage facilitated internal transactions for an increasingly complex society. Population growth and economic diversification were occurring at the same time as the appearance of coinage, which simplified, for instance, the payment of goods and services connected with the monumental temple building and the administration of justice.

38 De Angelis 2016: 252.

coinage may have required up to eight tons of silver to mint, a figure which helps us understand something of the economic networks to which this city once belonged.

The usage of metals in ways unknown in homeland Megara can also be illustrated by the extensive use of lead curse tablets at Selinous.³⁹ The Selinountine material stands out for containing the oldest specimens from the ancient Greek world and for providing indications of standardisation and the presence of professional scribes. About one-half of Sicily's entire corpus of curse tablets comes from Selinous alone. No curse tablets have so far been found at Megara Hyblaia,⁴⁰ a matter which can be explained in terms of localism. Once again, Carthage's close relationship with Selinous can be envisaged as the network through which the Near Eastern origin of the curse tablet flowed.⁴¹

All these developments, from silver coins, through *litrai*, to lead tablets, do raise the more general point of Megarians coming into contact with local traditions of other cultures and creating their own local traditions in these areas as a result of having greater access to exchange networks for metals. Diaspora with the homeland existed here too, but with other Greeks who were leading on the coinage front, who happened not to be fellow Megarians, as well as with several non-Greek intermediaries and regions.

What I hoped to have shown in this second part of this paper is how localism did much to shape the Megarian world of Sicily, in a way that Megarians at home and elsewhere were probably not at all part of. Commonalities did exist too and could be owed to the Megarian diaspora, but at the same time I want to stress that some of the dynamics that shaped the Archaic Megarian world were also part of global phenomena like underpopulation, settlement patterns away from the coast, coinage, and microregional interaction that were not confined only to the Megarians, but to other Greeks and non-Greeks. The Megarians could nevertheless put their own unique imprint on these phenomena too.

39 Willi 2008: 317–319; Crippa and De Simon 2009; Bremmer 2010: 16–18; Robu 2014: 14, 117; Ianucci, Muccioli, and Zaccarini 2015.

40 Willi 2008: 317–318.

41 Willi 2008: 317–318; Bremmer 2010: 18.

Conclusion

While I have no doubt that similarities could exist between Megara and the overseas settlements some inhabitants of Megara created or helped to create, and that some kind of a Megarian network existed, I hope to have demonstrated that relegating the Megarians to only one network is much too simple and a legacy of our original intellectual frameworks, some of whose tenets we have otherwise come to question. This becomes abundantly clear when we bring in the Sicilian perspective to Megarian history, especially the economic and cultural dimensions. In doing so, while we do not deny the validity and usefulness of Theognis and inscriptions, we can use archaeological sources more consistently and draw also more fully on comparative perspectives in ways only superficially done until now. Moreover, we start to obtain perspectives which allow us to gauge better the respective roles played both by localism and diaspora in shaping the Megarian world. It is not one or the other perspective that should predominate in our discussions, but the interplay of both in tandem.

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Chapter 13

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What's in a Name? Megarian *apoikiai* in the Black Sea: Common *nomima* and Local Traditions*

The Megarians were one of the most active colonizers between the eighth and sixth centuries BCE, founding *apoikiai* (“colonies”) in Sicily (Megara Hyblaia, Selinous), on the coasts of the Sea of Marmara (Astakos, Chalkedon, Selymbria, Byzantion), and along the Black Sea (Herakleia Pontike, Mesambria). At the same time, Megara was often not the only city who participated in the establishment of these settlements overseas: the literary and epigraphic sources attest the collaboration of Megarians with other groups of settlers from Greece (especially from Boiotia, Argos, and Corinth) and from their own colonies (Megara Hyblaia and Chalkedon), in the foundation and the development of their *apoikiai*. We may consider these foundations as the result of a *synoikismos*, or combination of several groups of settlers, often ethnically heterogeneous.¹

It is also certain that groups of further settlers (*epoikoi*) from Megara or other cities continued to arrive in the colonies. For example, Aristotle reports that a conflict (*stasis*)

* My warm thanks go to Hans Beck and Philip J. Smith for their kind invitation to participate in the workshop on Megara in Montreal, I was pleased to participate during the two days of the colloquium in stimulating discussions and debates.

¹ Robu 2012: 181-183.

occurred at Byzantion because of such new settlers, and the result of these political troubles was the eviction of the second settlers (*Pol.* 5.3.11–12, 1303a 25–34).

In addition, Megarian colonisation constituted the framework where institutional and religious transfers between the Aegean Sea, Sicily, and the Black Sea took place. We find in the *apoikiai* several cults and magistracies inherited from the Megarian metropolis. Some of them are also present in the second-generation colonies that Herakleia Pontike founded on the West and the North coasts of the Black Sea (Kallatis and Chersonesos Taurike), as well as inland in Asia Minor (Kieros, a city renamed Prusias-ad-Hypium, in early Hellenistic times).

It should be noted here that “colony” and “colonisation” are conventional terms and not to be understood in their modern meaning; “colonisation” describes here an Ancient Greek phenomenon, the main result of which was the foundation of Greek cities overseas, and the establishment of cultural links and relations between the metropolis and the new settlements.²

It is not my intention to enter into the heated debate on the exact meaning of the term Greek “colonisation”.³ I will, rather, confine my discussion to the Megarian institutions attested in the Black Sea cites, and also to the interactions between various actors within the framework of Megarian colonisation. Firstly, I will discuss the cults and the calendars of the Megarian cities, and then, their civic subdivisions and magistracies. Secondly, I will focus on the relations between Megara and the Pontic cities. In this context, I will examine an epigraphical habit attested at Kallatis and Tauric Chersonesos, and briefly discuss the onomastics of Megara and her Pontic colonies. In my analysis, I have also included Byzantion and Chalkedon, two foundations at the entrance of the Black Sea. Owing to their geographical position, these cites belonged to the Sea of Marmara and Black Sea areas, in antiquity.⁴

² Lepore 1978: 230–232.

³ See recently Malkin 2016.

⁴ Robu 2014b: 189–190.

Several scholars have tried in the past to identify the Megarian component among the institutions of the colonies.⁵ I have also dealt with this topic in my book on Megara and her colonies, pointing also the way in which the metropolis’ traditions changed in the *apoikiai*.⁶ I wish to revisit here this topic, focusing less on the origin of institutions, and more on the institutional developments in the colonies. This is an important subject, since later evolutions had mainly contributed to the creation of local traditions and institutional practices in the Megarian colonies.

Furthermore, one might wonder if all the *nomima* were reproduced during the colonial establishment in the Archaic period, at the very moment of the foundation of the new cities, or shortly after. Since several documents suggest that contacts between Megara and the Black Sea cities occurred during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, it is my intention to underline here the importance of these documents for the study of relations between metropoleis and *apoikiai* in antiquity.

The *nomima* of the Colonies: Metropolis Traditions and Local Developments

As Irad Malkin has shown in his book *A Small Greek World*, the *nomima* were certainly not neutral. They constituted “a set of practical, organizing data for society,” such as civic subdivisions, magistracies, cults and sacred calendars. In short, the *nomima* “were vital to the social, political, and religious organization of a Greek polis.”⁷

For ancient Greeks, *nomima* served as identifiers of a colony as “Chalkidian”, “Milesian” or “Megarian”. For example, the city of Himera, on the northeastern shore of Sicily, was founded by Chalkidians from Zankle and the Myletidai, an exiled clan from Syracuse. So, Himera was a mixed colony with three *oikistai*, Eukleides, Simos, and Sakon. According to Thucydides (6.5.1), the language of the Himerians was a mixture of Chalkidic and Doric, but the Chalkidian *nomima* were dominant.⁸

5 Hanell 1934: 137–204; Antonetti 1997; Antonetti 1999; Avram in *ISM* III 85–115.

6 Robu 2014a: 325–405.

7 Malkin 2011: 189–197; see also D’Ercole 2012: 81–93.

8 καὶ φωνὴ μὲν μεταξὺ τῆς τε Χαλκιδέων καὶ Δωριέος ἐκράθη, νόμιμα δὲ τὰ Χαλκιδικὰ ἐκράτησεν.

In some cases, we might note the desire of the *apoikoi* to perpetuate the ethnic of the metropolis, at least within the first generations of settlers. For example, the Liparaians consecrated several bronze statues at Delphi. A dedicatory inscription from the first half of the fifth century BCE gives us the ethnic “the Knidians at Lipara”.⁹ Later, at the end of fourth century or beginning of the third century BCE, Delphic inscriptions mention only the Liparaians (Λιπαράῖοι). Clearly, at this time, the Knidian origin was no longer relevant.¹⁰ It should be added that Lipara was not founded solely by Knidians but was established by Knidians and Rhodians under the leadership of Pentathlos of Knidos, around 580–576 BCE.¹¹ The Liparaians chose, however, to present themselves at Delphi only as Knidians, probably because the Knidians settlers were dominant at Lipara, and the Knidians’ institutions prevailed among the *nomima* of the city. The ethnic origin of the main group of settlers and the *nomima* of the colony served as identity-markers vis-à-vis the other Greeks. This was especially relevant at Delphi, a sanctuary which achieved Panhellenic fame in the Archaic and Classical periods.

The Megarian settlers also chose to show their ethnic origin. The name of Megara of Sicily reflects the desire of the *apoikoi* to reveal their Megarian origin. Besides, some ancient authors attribute the foundation of second-generation colonies to Megara, while others present these cities as *apoikiai* established by settlers from Megara *and* her colonies. Mesambria was, for example, qualified as a Megarian settlement by Strabo (7.6.1, C 319), but as a foundation of Megarians and Chalkedonians by Ps.-Skymnos (738–742). The two traditions are not contradictory, since Chalkedon was a Megarian foundation and the Chalkedonians could be viewed as Megarian in respect to their ethnic origin and institutions.¹²

There is also the case of the sophist Herodikos of Selymbria who, according to Plato (*Prt.* 316d–e), has a Megarian origin.¹³ Herodikos may have had double citizenship, being considered a Megarian and a Selymbrian. It is much more probable that Plato wanted to

⁹ τοὶ Κνίδιοι [ἐ]λ Λιπάραι: *FD* III.4.2, no. 181.

¹⁰ *FD* III.4.2, nos. 182–183; cf. Vatin 1993a: 74; Vatin 1993b.

¹¹ Diod. 5.9; cf. Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen, Ampolo 2004: 211.

¹² Loukopoulou 1989: 53.

¹³ Ἡρόδικος ὁ Σηλυμβριανός, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον Μεγαρεύς.

reveal the Megarian origin of Selymbria by qualifying Herodikos as *archaion Megareus*. In other terms, Herodikos was citizen of Selymbria, but his ethnos was originally Megarian.¹⁴

The study of the cults and political institutions of the Megarian colonies confirms that, in these fields, the *apoikiai* preserved much of the metropolis' traditions. The religious sphere was especially marked by the metropolis' influence. Several Megarian cults are documented in the colonies. The first settlers might have established some of the traditions, while others might have been introduced later into the colonies, as will be described below. We can include in this list several gods and goddesses attested for both at Megara and in the colonies, sometimes with a typically Megarian *epiklēsis*. Such is the case for the following deities: Apollo Pythaios at Chalkedon, Apollo Agyieus at Byzantion, Kallatis, and Anchialos (a Mesambrian possession in Hellenistic period), Artemis Orthosia at Byzantion, Demeter Malophoros and Zeus Meilichios at Selinous, Demeter Malophoros at Anchialos, Dionysos Patroos, Dionysos Dasyllios, Dionysos Bakchios, Apollo Apotropaios, and Athena Polias at Kallatis.¹⁵ In addition, Megarian heroes, like Polyeidios, Ajax, Saron and Hipposthenes at Byzantion, were also celebrated in the colonies.¹⁶

It is understood that not all the cults and festivals of the colonies find parallels in the mother city, and it is not methodologically sound to study the pantheons of the *apoikiai* based solely on the traditions of the metropolis. So far, despite the large number of excavations and archeological finds at Selinous, the hypothesis of M. Torell, which states that the sacred topography of this city is a perfect reflection of those of Megara Nisaia, is not confirmed.¹⁷ It is important to remember that modern reconstruction of the sacred landscape of Megara is mainly based on Pausanias. This author gives us information on the cults celebrated during the second century CE, but the pantheon of Roman Megara is not entirely the same as the pantheon of Archaic or Classical Megara. We find, for instance, no mention of a sanctuary of Poseidon, in Pausanias, yet Thucydides (4.118.4) tells us that this

¹⁴ Vatin 1993a: 79; Robu 2012: 186.

¹⁵ Hanell 1934: 161-188; Antonetti 1997: 83-94; Avram in *ISM* III 91-95; Chiekova: 2008: 60-67, 87-107, 119-124; Robu 2012: 190; Robu 2016a: 183-187.

¹⁶ Hanell 1934: 188-189.

¹⁷ Coarelli and Torelli 1984: 81-103; Torelli 2005: 8.

god had a cult site in the Megarian harbour town of Nisaia in the Classical period. Poseidon is also well attested in the colonies at Selinous, Astakos, Byzantion, Chalkedon, Herakleia Pontike, and Kallatis.¹⁸

The *apoikoi* were largely innovative in the cultic sphere, though other elements were also important in the establishing of the pantheon of the colonies. We might note that Herakles has a central place in the pantheon of Herakleia Pontike, and this is probably due to the Boiotians who joined the Megarians for the foundation of the city.¹⁹ After all, the cult of Herakles is well attested in Boiotia²⁰ and poorly documented in Megaris.²¹ The Boiotians also joined the Megarians in the foundation of Byzantion; the celebration of Schoiniklos, a Boiotian hero, by the Byzantians, might well corroborate this tradition.²²

As is to be expected, the pantheons evolved differently in the metropolis and in the colonies: Apollo was celebrated as Pythios, Archegetes, and Dekatophoros at Megara, while the god was honoured as Pythaios and Chresterios at Chalkedon (the last *epiklēsis* reminds us that Apollo has oracular powers in the colony²³). The cults of Dionysos at Megara and at Kallatis exhibit several similarities, but also some differences. The Megarians celebrated Dionysos Patroos and Dionysos Dasyllios in the same sanctuary. The statue of Dionysos Patroos is considered by Pausanias as the oldest one (1.43.5.). The two *epiklēseis* of the god are attested at Kallatis, but here Dionysos Dasyllios seems to have preeminence, since the god is named only by the *epiklēsis* Dasyllios in a list of divinities,²⁴ and his sanctuary, the Dasylleion, is mentioned alone in another inscription.²⁵

Moreover, new divinities were celebrated in the colonies in the Archaic and Classical periods. Such is the case of Herakles, for instance, the main divinity of Herakleia Pontike, who was celebrated as Pharangeites by an association of Herakleotes established in

18 Antonetti 1997: 89–90; Robu 2013: 75–76.

19 Burstein 1976: 17; *contra* Herda 2016: 89–95.

20 Schachter 1986: 1–37.

21 Smith 2008: 123.

22 Hanell 1934: 189–190; Robu 2014a: 264–269.

23 Antonetti 1999: 17–24.

24 *ISM* III 48 A.

25 *ISM* III 47; cf. Avram in *ISM* III 91, 97.

Imperial times at Kallatis.²⁶ As Édouard Chirica (1998) has shown, the *epiklēsis* Pharangeites is connected to the word φάραγξ (“ravine”), and, according to a mythological tradition, the ravine and the cave that served as the entrance for Herakles to descend to the underworld were situated in the territory of Herakleia Pontike. Local mythology and topography became the source for new religious traditions in the colonies.

The same concept can be applied to Parthenos, the main deity of Tauric Chersonesos, who is generally identified with Artemis, a divinity well attested at Megara and her colonies.²⁷ However, this is still a matter of dispute,²⁸ and the cult of Parthenos could merely be interpreted as a local development of the metropolis' *nomima* in the Chersonesos.

The calendars of the Megarian colonies, moreover, illustrate a common heritage, and at the same time local evolutions. In Megara, only the name of a single month is known, the month Panamos, which is attested by a decree founded at Pagai, that concerns a territorial dispute between Aigosthena and Pagai.²⁹ Yet the documents from Byzantion, Chalkedon, Kallatis and Chersonesos Taurike provide us with the ability to identify several months the Megarian colonies from the Black Sea share in common. Based on this evidence, the Archaic Megarian calendar was restored as follows by Alexandru Avram: Heraios, Karneios, Machaneios, Petageitnios, Dionysios, Eukleios, Artemisios, Lykeios, Apellaos, Panamos (?), Agrianios, Malophorios.³⁰

Several months in this list are connected with Megarian divinities (for example, Demeter Malophoros was celebrated during the month Malophorios), but it is still difficult to know if all these months were actually present at Megara. Here caution is needed, and it is probably not fortuitous that the only month attested in the metropolis (Panamos) is never previously mentioned by the documents from the colonies, until now.³¹ We know also that some months of the original Megarian calendar were replaced in the colonies by new ones. We find the month Bosporios at Byzantion, and the month Herakleios at

²⁶ ISM III 72.

²⁷ Makarov and Ushakov 2008; Dana 2012.

²⁸ Guldager Bilde 2009.

²⁹ Robert 1939: 107–108.

³⁰ Avram 1999; cf. Trümper 1997: 147–155.

³¹ Avram in ISM III 114.

Chersonesos and probably also at her metropolis, Herakleia Pontike. The first month is connected to the local festival, Bosporia, while the second is related to Herakles. As we already noted, Herakles was celebrated particularly in Boiotia, not in Megaris, and the Boiotians were, along with the Megarians, the founders of Herakleia Pontike, Chersonesos' mother city (see above).

Moreover, the political institutions of Megara and of her Pontic cities present several analogies. The Megarians were organized into three Dorian tribes, the *phylai Hylleis*, *Dymanes*, and *Pamphyloi*, and also into several *hekatostyes* ("hundreds"). The tripartite division of the civic body is attested in the Megarian *apoikiai*: boards of three or six magistrates (*nomophylakes*, *stratēgoi*) are present in the Hellenistic period at Byzantion, Chalkedon, Mesambria, Herakleia Pontike and her colonies, Kallatis and Chersonesos. The *hekatostyes* were civic subdivisions in Byzantion, Chalkedon, and Herakleia Pontike.³²

The main magistracies and civic structures of Megara appear in the colonies. An eponymous *basileus* is attested for at Chalkedon and Herakleia Pontike, in the Herakleote colonies, Kallatis, Chersonesos, and Prusias-ad-Hypium/Kieros, and was also present at Mesambria. Of the other magistracies of Hellenistic Megara, the most important were the *probouloi*, the *stratagoi*, and the *aisimnatai*. The *probouloi* are attested at Kallatis, the *stratagoi* at Byzantion, Chalkedon, Selymbria, Mesambria, Herakleia Pontike and Kallatis, and the *aisimnatai* at Chalkedon and Selinous. In addition, three other boards of magistrates that are present in the colonies might have a Megarian origin: the *damiorgoi* of Herakleia Pontike and Chersonesos, the *nomophylakes* of Chalkedon, Mesambria and Chersonesos, and the *symnamones* of Chersonesos.³³

Despite the similarities with the Megarian magistracies, the institutions of the colonies developed distinctly. In Hellenistic times, the *aisimnatai* at Chalkedon and the *probouloi* at Kallatis are among the democratic institutions of these cities. Moreover, they present common features with the Athenian prytany system: monthly duties and, at least at Chalkedon, election by civic subdivision.³⁴ Some scholars suggested that the *aisimnatai* of

32 Hanell 1934: 138-144; Ferraioli 2012: 13-84; Robu 2014a: 325-360.

33 Hanell 1934: 144-160; Robu 2014a: 366-405.

34 Avram 1994; Avram in *ISM* III 87; Robu 2014a: 347, 382-389.

Megara had similar functions as the Athenian *prytaneis*,³⁵ but the available documentation can hardly support this view.³⁶

In my view, it is not necessary to think that the Chalkedonians and the Kallatians imported a democratic system from Megara, but rather, that they adapted the Athenian model to their local institutions. It should be noted that the *aisimnatai* were elected at Chalkedon by *hekatostyes* (“hundreds”), civic subdivisions of Megarian origin. As a comparison, the Kyzikans also had *prytaneis* serving for a month, but they were elected according to the six tribes of Miletos, their metropolis. They also did not create a ten-tribe system as in Kleisthenic Athens.³⁷ It appears clear that the civic institutions are inspired both by the traditions of the metropolis and the Athenian model, resulting in the emergence of new local traditions in the civic field.

The *praisimnōn* of Kallatis and the *proaisymnōn* of Chersonesos are also reminiscent of the board of *aisimnatai*, but we have no proof for the presence of *aisimnatai* in the two Pontic cities.³⁸ Some scholars suggested that five *aisimnatai* were present at Megara and/or in her *apoikiai*.³⁹ However, we have no indication of the number of *aisimnatai* at Megara. The only documents that give us information on this matter are from Chalkedon, and they attest nine *aisimnatai*,⁴⁰ and probably eleven *aisimnatai*.⁴¹ Certainly, we cannot exclude the possibility that the college of *aisimnatai* had five members at Megara – elected on the level of a system of five units that were probably in place during the Hellenistic period – as did the college of the *damiorgoi*, and sometimes the college of the *stratagoi*. At the same time, the *aisimnatai* could have been elected by the three Dorian tribes (*phylai*), and, if so, we could have a college of six *aisimnatai* (two magistrates by tribe), following the example of the six *stratagoi* attested in Megara during the third century BCE.⁴²

35 Meyer 1932: 199; Hanell 1934: 146.

36 See, especially, the decree IG VII.15.

37 Hasluck 1910: 250–252; Lewis 1984: 56–57.

38 Avram in *ISM* III 86–87.

39 Loukopoulou 1989: 143; Malkin 2011: 195.

40 *I. Kalchedon* 7.

41 *I. Kalchedon* 6, but this inscription might be fragmentary.

42 Robu 2014: 391–394.

This brief summary of Megarian *nomima* permits us to conclude that the main political and religious institutions of Megara were transferred into the colonies. These elements confirm the major role played by the Megarians in the foundation of the *apoikiai*, despite the fact that other Greeks participated in the process of colonisation. Local developments are also well documented and we have to bear in mind that the colonies are not mirror images of the metropolis. There are at least two reasons for this. Firstly, the colonies were often ethnically heterogeneous, and other traditions, like the Boiotian, for instance, were important for establishing the *nomima* of the colonies. Secondly, the institutional traditions of other cities were equally as important as those of the metropolis in later periods. For example, Athenian institutions probably served as a model for the Chalkedonians and Kallatians in the Hellenistic period.

A central question to consider is the date of the transfer of Megarian *nomima* to the *apoikiai*, since the relations between the colonies and the metropoleis are generally not limited to the Archaic period. Several cultural transfers between the metropoleis and the colonies occurred at the time of the foundation of the colonies, or shortly after. Other elements were, I think, probably transferred during the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

Cultural Transfers and Relations between Megara and Pontic Cities

We must admit that the relations between Megara and her Pontic colonies are poorly documented. This is rather exceptional, given that for other colonizing cities, the contacts between the metropolis and the *apoikiai* are firmly established from the Archaic to the Hellenistic, and even Imperial times. Such is the case for the Corinthian settlements: the links between Corinth, Korkyra and Epidamnus, or between Corinth and Syracuse⁴³ are well attested for long after the foundation period. We also know that *apoikiai* were still founded during the Classical period: the city of Dikaia in the Northern Aegean was established by the Eretrians at the beginning of the fifth century.⁴⁴

43 Reichert-Südbeck 2000: 11-17; Stickler 2010: 225-229.

44 Voutiras 2008; Knoepfler 2008: 614-616.

Several documents also attest to the close relations between Paros and her colonies, Thasos and Pharos.⁴⁵ In the third century BCE, Pharos faced a very difficult financial situation after being destroyed in the Second Illyrian War. In this context, an inscription demonstrates that Pharos asked for the support of the metropolis. The Parians decided to help their *apoikoi*, but not before they consulted the Delphic oracle. Apollo recommended that the Parians should help the Pharians reconstruct their city, and in this way, we witness a refoundation of the colony in the Hellenistic period.⁴⁶

Milesian colonisation is also a good example of the survival of the colonial networks linking metropoleis and daughter cities from the Archaic through the Hellenistic period. Miletos concluded treaties of *sympoliteia* with Kyzikos, Chios, Olbia, and Istros during the fourth and third centuries BCE.⁴⁷ In the treaty with Chios, the Milesian *dēmos* is called “the founder of the colony” (*ktistes tēs apoikias*).⁴⁸ Relations between Miletos and her colonies existed even in the Imperial period: for example, according to an inscription from the Severan age, the college of *stephanophoroi* from Kyzikos decided to consult the oracle of Apollo Milesios in Didyma.⁴⁹

The contacts between Herakleia Pontike and her colonies are also well attested, especially in the Imperial period. We already noted that a religious association of Herakleotes is shown at Kallatis in the second century CE, and this group celebrates Herakles Pharangeites, a local god from Herakleia Pontike (see above). During the same period, the decree of Chersonesos, in honour of Thrasympedes, son of Thrasympedes, from “the metropolis Herakleia”, qualified the relation between the two cities as a father-son relationship.⁵⁰

All of these examples show that contacts between metropolis and *apoikiai* existed long after the foundation period. Was Megarian colonisation a different case? Several inscriptions from Kallatis and Chersonesos Taurike support the idea of the reactivation of colonial

45 Eck 2013.

46 *SEG* 23.489; cf. Hamon 2009: 106.

47 Ehrhardt 1987; Dana 2011: 363–364.

48 *Milet* I 3.141.1. 19–20; cf. Müller 2016.

49 Fontenrose 1988: 236, no. A 9, unfortunately the text of the oracle remains unknown.

50 *IOSPE* I².357; Dana 2011: 368–369.

networks between Megara and the Pontic cities during the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

First of all, two oracular inscriptions from Kallatis (*ISM* III 48 A and B) reflect similarities between the Kallatian and Megarian pantheons. These oracles were delivered by Apollo Pythios of Delphi, and they mention the divinities that the Kallatians have to celebrate. Several divinities in these lists bear *epiklēseis* attested also at Megara: Dionysos Patroos, Dionysos Dasyllios, Dionysos Bakchios, Apollo Apotropaïos.

Moreover, we note that Dionysos Patroos, Dionysos Dasyllios, Aphrodite and Peitho are listed together in *ISM* III 48 A (fourth century BCE). According to Pausanias (1.43.5–6), these divinities were celebrated at Megara in neighbouring sanctuaries close to the agora. Dionysos Patroos and Dionysos Dasyllios in the same sanctuary, while the statues of Peitho and of Paregoros were in the *temenos* of Aphrodite.⁵¹ Given that these two statues were the work of Praxiteles (active *c.* 370–320 BCE), we might infer that the celebration of Peitho at Megara dates probably to the fourth century BCE. If we accept a Megarian origin for the cult of Peitho and Aphrodite at Kallatis, then this tradition could not antedate the fourth century BCE. We have here a possible sign for the existence of cultural transfers between Megara and the *apoikiai* during the Classical period.⁵² Moreover, contacts between Megarians and Kallatians existed probably later, as is suggested by a Delphic decree for two Kallatians inscribed in the third century BCE on the Megarian treasury from Delphi.⁵³

The idea of connections between Megara and Kallatis in Classical-Hellenistic times is also supported by the presence of a specific epigraphic funerary habit at Megara, Kallatis, and Chersonesos. In these cities we find epitaphs inscribed on small rectangular tablets, which were inserted into free-standing stele. This habit was in use in Megara during Classical and Hellenistic times. It was probably during these periods that it was transferred to the

⁵¹ Avram and Lefèvre 1995: 18–21.

⁵² Robu 2016a.

⁵³ Avram and Lefèvre 1995: 16.

Pontic cities, since the tablets from Kallatis and Chersonesos do not date earlier than the fourth century BCE.⁵⁴

Finally, we might note the onomastic links between Megara and her colonies, and we may ask if this dates only to the Archaic period. We find a particular onomastic practice that we can qualify as Megarian in its colonies, at Byzantion and Selymbria, or we can also find names belonging to the region of Megaris and Boiotia.⁵⁵ This onomastic practice includes personal names such as Ἀθαναίων, Ἥρις, Μᾶτρις, Προμαθίων, Καλλίχορος, Τελαμών; names ending in -γείτος or in -γείτων (Καλλιγείτων, Ἡρόγείτος, Εὐγείτος/Εὐγείτων, Θεόγείτος/Θεογείτων); names ending in -κων (Μηνάκων, Ματρίκων, Ἡράκων, Εὐθάκων, Ἀθανίκων); or in -ιχος (Ἡρώιχος, Ζώτιχος, Σωτήριχος, κτλ.), names beginning with Πασ- (Πασίων, Πασέας, Πασιάδας, κτλ.), etc.⁵⁶

Nevertheless, new names appeared in the colonies, such as Βοσπόριχος, Βόσπων, Δηλόπτιχος at Byzantion, and Κοτυτίων and Κοτυτίς at Kallatis and Chersonesos. These names could be qualified as epichoric names and also as theophoric ones. Βοσπόριχος and Βόσπων refer to the festival of Bosporia, and Δηλόπτιχος refers to Deloptes, the companion of Bendis. Κοτυτίων and Κοτυτίς suggest the presence of the festival of the Kotyttia at Kallatis and Chersonesos. We might assume that it was originally Kotyttto, a Thracian deity, who was celebrated during the festival of Kotyttia. It is important to note that these epichoric names could be transferred from the colonies to the metropolis: for instance, Βόσπων is twice attested for in Hellenistic Megara. The Kotyttia are also mentioned by the *lex sacra* of Selinous,⁵⁷ and was a festival that probably arrived in Sicily through Megarian colonial networks.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Robu 2016a; Robu 2016b.

⁵⁵ Robert 1959: 232, n. 9.

⁵⁶ Loukopoulou 1989: 203–209.

⁵⁷ Jameson, Jordan and Kotansky 1993: 14, col. A, l. 7.

⁵⁸ Robu 2010–2011.

Conclusion

Megarian colonisation allowed for human mobility, and facilitated cultural exchanges in the fields of religion, political institution, epigraphic culture, and onomastics. The cultural transfers between the metropolis and its colonies are not limited to Archaic times; they probably continued to occur during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Such is the case of the Megarian cults attested at Kallatis, and this example raises the question of our view concerning the role of the documents from colonies in the reconstruction of institutions in Archaic Megara. Since some cults were transferred to Kallatis in the fourth century BCE, they may be able to help us to reconstruct only the Classical pantheon of Megara.

It is remarkable to find funerary tablets of the same type in Megara, Kallatis and Chersonesos. In other words, the epigraphic culture of these three cities shares common elements in the Hellenistic times. The onomastic evidence also shows the links between the Megarian cities and suggests that connections between these cities existed during the Classical, as well as the Hellenistic periods.

We should not infer that the relations between Megara and her *apoikiai* were uninterrupted in antiquity, however the common heritage could be invoked at different periods, especially by the political or cultural elites, to provide links between individuals or cities.⁵⁹ This was the case, particularly in the Imperial period, when Greek cities exhibited a passion for the past.⁶⁰

An anecdote reported by Philostratus may well illustrate this phenomenon: the sophist Markos from Byzantion considered the Megarian hero, Byzas, the mythical founder of Byzantion, as one of his ancestors. The philosopher was also quite politically active in his city, and he was sent as ambassador to the emperor Hadrian. During one of these trips, Markos visited Megara and put an end to a quarrel between the Megarians and the Athenians.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Müller 2016.

⁶⁰ Robert 1980: 412.

⁶¹ Philostratus, *The Lives of the Sophists*, 1.24.528–529, also remarks that the Megarians did not admit the Athenians to their Lesser Pythian games.

What is interesting in this local event is the fact that a dispute between two neighbouring cities was settled by an *apoikos* from a Megarian colonial city. The intervention of Markos from Byzantion shows us the capacity of the colonial networks to be revived centuries later.

With regard to the *apoikiai*, we might note the desire of Megarian colonies to preserve the main traditions of their metropolis, but also to reshape them in different ways. If the *apoikiai* could be identified as Megarian, especially regarding their *nomima*, the new settlements were also the hub of traditions linked to other *apoikoi* (for instance, the Boiotians), and of new local developments. The festival of the Bosporia at Byzantion, or the goddess Parthenos at Chersonesos Taurike were new cultic developments. We might wonder if it is useful to link them to a specific Megarian divinity, since the metropolis' tradition obviously could change in the colonial setup.

This study of institutions reveals a degree of diversity among the foundations and this is not contradictory to the desire of the colonists to imitate the civic structures of the metropolis. The Megarian *nomima* were reproduced by the founders, but also modified in the colonial setup and, in the end, they became a way to express Megarian localism in the *apoikiai*.

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Situated near the main traffic artery in Central Greece and surrounded by poleis that were more powerful, the ancient city-state of Megara was often a punching bag of others. In neighbouring Athens in particular, the Megarians were subject to all sorts of slander and expressions of chauvinism. The people of Megara, by default, had their own assessment of the world and their role in it. A highway to others, the Megarid was a rich source of meaning and orientation to its inhabitants. This local backdrop, often misunderstood as petty or irrelevant, constituted a unique local discourse environment. Rather than telling a narrative history of Megara – unravelling its local history, as it were – , this volume delves into the local discourse of this ancient city. The various contributions all shed light on the prevailing identity of place, on what it meant to be from Megara. In doing so, the book unpacks the vibrant local life in a Greek city-state. In their endeavour to break the code of a local discourse and recreate its environment, the editors and authors also invite readers to rethink approximations toward the pluriverse of poleis in Greek Antiquity.

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S U P P L E M E N
T S O N L I N E